

JPRS-NEA-85-030

28 February 1985

## Near East/South Asia Report

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28 February 1985

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EGYPT

# NATIONAL PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICIES CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 7 Jan 85 p 5

[Editorial by Muhammad al-Hayawan: "Word of Love"]

[Text] Some parties rely on the forgetfulness of the masses and this is why they act contrary to their election programs, and even swerve from them. The parties imagine that the masses forget and do not remember or recall.

The Wafd Party, for example, declares in its election program that it supports the free economy and that it is against the socialist prosecutor and calls for the abolition of his office. But the party then forgets this and its paper supports the socialist prosecutor against the minister of economy, against the money changers and against the free economy, even though this is a fundamental issue in al-Wafd's program.

There is also a fundamental difference between the program of the Grouping Party and that of the National Party. In its program, the Grouping Party demands the abolition of imports without money remittances, the restriction on imports generally and a continuation of the subsidy as it is, whereas the National Party's program speaks of streamlining the subsidy and the imports and of underlining the open-door economic policy. All this was said last May. Exactly 9 months later, the National Party has adopted the Grouping Party's policy and program.

It is well known that restricting imports immediately opens the door to smuggling and takes us back to the era of the closed-door policy when we longed for tea and toothpaste. The suitcase vendors were aware of this weakness in us and have inundated the market with trivial, but very expensive, goods.

It is also well known that restricting imports will open the door to quotas and that the influential people will have the opportunity to engage in the business of selling import permits. The system of quotas always leads to the flourishing of the black market and to increases in the cost of goods. Let us imagine that a fortunate fellow obtains a permit to import metal sheets, sells this commodity to a plant owner and makes profit; it is natural that this profit will increase the cost to the consumer. The game of permits will be managed from above and the people below will suffer from it.

The closed-door policy will revive the habit of putting savings under floor tiles because an Egyptian returning from abroad will not give us his savings easily. If the prices of these savings are not up to what he dreams of, he will hide these savings under a tile for a while.

Moreover, the schemes to smuggle currency abroad may become active again and savings may be smuggled abroad at black market prices for the benefit of those who wish to flee the closed-door economic system.

Dealing with the Arab money changers will shift the center of control of the Egyptians' savings from Egypt itself to the outside world. The ease with which these savings have been entering, with which they are deposited in the banks and with which they are taken out has caused such savings to flow into the country and to be used for the purpose of importation without money remittances under the supervision of the Central Bank. But now the center of control over these savings will move to the outside world, to the Arab money changers.

The beginning is well known. Things started with the rise in the dollar prices, with the closing of the money changers' accounts and with the upheaval which shook the market. When we tried to reform matters, we opened more dangerous doors and we returned to an era which we had tried and rejected, as proven by the fact that the Grouping Party has not entered the People's Assembly because its economic program was rejected by the masses.

8494

CSO: 4504/173

EGYPT

# ISRAEL'S FALASHA AIR LIFT FROM ETHIOPIA DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 7 Jan 85 p 7

[Editorial: "What Is Behind Translocation of Falasha"]

[Text] The report which leaked a few days ago about a European airline engaged in transporting Ethiopia's Jews, called the Falasha, to Israel and about this airline being compelled to suspend its mass translocation operation through the air bridge it established between Ethiopia and Tel Aviv has more than one meaning.

First, considering that Ethiopia is suffering from the drought that has destroyed both crop and man and has caused and continues to cause the death of innocent children in the tens of thousands, wouldn't it be humanely more befitting of Israel to direct its efforts at fighting the starvation and exerting efforts to save all of Ethiopia's children and people without discrimination instead of focusing these efforts as of last November on saving only Ethiopia's Jews and on translocating them speedily through an air bridge set up quickly on agreement with a European airline? Starvation does not make a distinction between the Falasha and others. But Israel has decided to save the Jews and forget the others and to confine its concern to its kinsmen to the exclusion of others.

Second, if Israel has been able so far, as the acting head of the Jewish Agency said, to transport 10,000 Falashas to its territories, then may we ask where they will be absorbed, whether they will be absorbed inside Israel or in the territories occupied by Israel, or will this absorption be accomplished at the expense of evicting Arab citizens from their lands?

Third, this strange atmosphere of secrecy which Israel has imposed on translocating Ethiopia's Jews through an air bridge established by a European airline is not reassuring and does not bespeak of a noble purpose. Rather, it has the atmosphere of conspiracy.

If Israel truly wishes to live in peace and as a good neighbor with the area's countries, then why doesn't it replace its narrow perspective through which it sees only the pains and suffering of the Jews by a comprehensive humanitarian perspective and why doesn't it replace its secretive methods by open and frank methods?

EGYPT

# SPONSOR OF PERSONAL STATUS LAW DISCUSSES AMENDING IT

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 Jan 85 p 15

[Article by Mahmud Mahdi: "Five Years After Promulgation of Personal Status Law, Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, One of Law's Sponsors, Says: It Has Become Necessary To Amend Law To Fill Gaps That Have Materialized During Implementation"]

[Text] Since the promulgation of Personal Status Law No 44 of 1977, the talk about this law has not ceased, either in support of or opposition to it. Now that 5 years have passed in its application, we find that some of those who supported the law have turned to demanding the amendment of some of the articles of this law.

Because we know that consideration is given at a high level to the idea of amendment, the supervisor of the Religious Thought Page went to His Eminence Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, one of the sponsors of this law, to explore his opinion on amending some provisions of the personal status law. His eminence said:

The concept of amending any positive or Shari'a law in light of the experience of its application is an ever-present one. Experience is the best test for any law. But it must be understood that the personal status laws are always derived from the opinions of the religious creeds and opinions which the sponsors consider more suitable for the circumstances. If it becomes obvious from application that such laws leave an impact incompatible with the circumstances, they are amended on the basis of a different opinion, also derived from the religious creeds, which the sponsors find more suitable. This is how the successive personal status laws have been amended since 1880 and until the present.

Dr al-Nimr added that it must be stressed that the scholars formulating these laws may not swerve from the Shari'a or from any opinion it contains. Those who say that some of the provisions of this law are in conflict with the Shari'a are either tendentious or lack knowledge of the opinions of the religious creeds. This law's explanatory note demonstrates how it is derived from the opinions of the religious creeds.



But even though this law, and any Shari'a law at that, is founded on the opinions of the religious creeds, this does not preclude reexamining the law in light of experience and selecting other Shari'a opinions which we find more compatible, which fill the gaps and which prevent some people, both men and women, from misusing some articles of the law.

The truth, Dr al-Nimr says, is that the experience and my followup on the application of the law in the past 5 years have put in front of me a picture of the misuse of the law by some wives, as well as a picture of the gaps exploited by some people. This has convinced me of the need for an initiative for an amendment that prevents misuse and that blocks the gaps.

#### Twelve Forms of Misuse of Law

I asked His Eminence Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr about these gaps and about the manifestations of misuse. His eminence said in reply:

For example, Article 5/5 states that "insofar as the wife is concerned, the consequences of the divorce shall go into effect as of the date on which she is notified of it." I believe that the "consequences of the divorce" must be qualified with the word "financial." As for the time during which a divorce must wait before she remarries, it should start as of the date on which the divorce occurs. I say that "financial" should be added because men conceal the divorce only for the purpose of foiling the wife's right to inheritance or other rights. The al-Hanafi creed has determined that the consequences shall begin as of the time the wife is notified so as to foil the husband's evil purpose.

Regarding Article 6/6, which states that "it is damaging to a wife if her husband marries a second wife without her consent," Dr al-Nimr said that even though this paragraph is founded on a Shari'a principle from the creeds of imams Malik, ibn Hanbal and ibn Taymiyah, all the legislators of the law have done is to abbreviate procedures followed by the judge and culminating with his decision. The legislators have considered this "damage" a psychological damage pertaining to the wife's feelings--damage for which the judge may not ask for proof from witnesses or for material evidence. The final say thus becomes the wife's say, not that of witnesses. But I feel that the abbreviation of these procedures has denied the judge the chance to try to reconcile the couple and to appoint two arbiters who may be able to convince the wife to keep the relationship, even with a second wife.

This is why I believe that we should amend this article so that we may permit a wife whose husband has married a second wife to apply to the judge for separation and may give the judge the opportunity to follow the reconciliation procedures and to appoint two arbiters who have utmost influence with the wife. The judge will then make his decision in light of the two arbiters' report.

This, according to Dr al-Nimr, is almost the same as the stipulation of Article 133 of the law approved by the Islamic Research Academy on 22 October 1975 and Article 128 of the unified bill for Egypt and Sudan which was

sponsored by a number of prominent ulema from Egypt and Sudan, which was approved by the legislative committees of the Egyptian and Sudanese assemblies and which was ratified by the two assemblies.

#### State Supplies Housing

What Then?

Dr al-Nimr said: As for Article 4 concerning housing for the children and their custodian, some women with children have abused this article and have resorted to threatening and harming their husbands so that they may divorce them and so that the wives may deny these husbands the apartments for which they have paid.

Even though we pointed out at the time this law was under consideration that this article better fits into the housing law, it was still kept in this law.

In light of this poor behavior on the part of some wives, of the well-known conditions of the housing crisis and of the legal stipulation that the expenses of the children and their custodian, including the expenses of housing, shall be shouldered by the husband, I believe that the position of the husband and father must be taken into consideration in a manner that is not in conflict with the Shari'a. The religious courts require the husband to provide housing for the estranged wife, with the husband and those in his custody and his dependents, including parents or younger brothers, living in one or two rooms of the house and with the children and their custodian [divorced wife] living in one or two other rooms in the house and with all sharing the use of the utilities. Two or more families are nowadays living in one apartment because of the circumstances. Each of the two wives should consider the fact that there are strangers living with her in the house and should be discreet in appearing before them.

Even though this arrangement creates some problems, necessity has its dictates. In our present condition, we face a necessity whose dictates we must take into account and submit to. This is why I say that the prosecution and the judiciary may rule for maintaining the status quo when a case is submitted to them until conditions improve and either the husband or wife can obtain separate housing. This may be beneficial in terms of the father keeping in touch with the upbringing of his children and of their not being totally separated from him--separation which may generate hatred or estrangement.

I believe that it is the duty of the government authorities to allocate a part of the housing they build for the children and their divorced custodian, with the husband staying in the apartment for which he has worked hard. This amendment, I believe, deals with misuse on the part of some wives and provides both sides, should the situation culminate in divorce, with as much comfort as possible under these special conditions. We must not forget that we are experiencing a severe housing crisis which we must take into consideration and according to whose dictates we must deal with the issues as well as we can. Necessities permit the impermissible.



EGYPT

# MUSTAFA KAMIL MURAD DISCUSSES FREE CURRENCY MARKET

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 7 Jan 85 pp 1, 6

[Editorial by Mustafa Kamil Murad: "Al-Sa'id and New Decision"]

[Text] It is indubitable that the government achieved unprecedented success when Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id issued his historic decree establishing the currency market and the decisions regulating this market, despite the numerous comments which could be made on these decisions. There is no doubt that this is, in our opinion as an opposition party, a big success for Kamal Hasan 'Ali's cabinet in its 1st year.

The importance of this decree derives from the fact that it regulates the country's foreign currency resources in a dynamic manner compatible with the foreign currency changes, especially the changes in the dollar, for the following reasons:

First, before the issuance of this decree, the dollar, which is the master of the free currencies, had several prices which fluctuated violently, especially in the free dollar market which is beyond the Central Bank Center, i.e., beyond the revenues from oil, cotton and rice exports and the revenues of the Suez Canal and the Sumed Pipeline. These revenues, which exceed \$3 billion, have maintained their old price of 70 piasters per dollar and have been used for the importation of supplies. However, it is the opinion of the Liberal Party that the price of the dollar in this pool should be raised from 70 to 80 piasters so as to bring the price of the Central Bank pool closer to the currency market price.

Second, the decree has added to the commercial currency market the revenues of the Commercial Banks Center, which accrues from the revenues of the commodity exports (excluding cotton, rice and oil) such as fruits, vegetables, textiles and other manufactured exports, in addition to the revenues of tourism and of the other services, with the exception of the revenues from maritime shipping and air travel fares. This is on top of the revenues accruing from the remittances of Egyptians working abroad. All this means that the decree has expanded the sphere of the commercial market, has regulated its transactions and has the foreign currency prices posted daily by a specialized committee headed by the Central Bank and including members from the public sector banks and from a number of joint and private banks. This is a

sound step. However, it is our opinion that the membership of the banks should last for 3 months instead of 6, i.e., it should be every quarter instead of every half-year.

Third, the decree regulating the currency market has prevented those who have special accounts in dollars from using these accounts in import transactions so as to enrich the current market and increase its revenues from the owners of these accounts who will have to sell to the currency market and will have to resort to it for their foreign currency needs in case they wish to engage in import transactions instead of using their accounts directly. However, there is criticism to be addressed to this particular point, considering that it is some sort of restriction on the owners of dollar accounts that prevents them from using these accounts in import transactions.

Fourth, the maritime accounts, (i.e., maritime shipping fares), and airline ticket fares continue to maintain their old price (84 piasters per dollar) out of the government's desire not to raise air travel and maritime shipping fares. This is a sound step if the government can secure the dollars needed to convert this account, which has not been converted for a long time and which has created a severe bottleneck in the availability of free currencies to the Egyptian maritime companies in particular.

Fifth, the creation of the commercial currency market has been one of the objectives of the Liberal Party program on the basis that the open-door policy must be supported by an organized currency market that leads to increasing the flow of foreign currency into the country, thus reducing the deficit in the balance of payments and providing a supply of free currencies that help increase production by securing the free currencies needed to import industrial and agricultural production requirements and production equipment.

Sixth, the price of the dollar for the Arab, foreign and Egyptian investors who are subject to the provisions of Law No 43 of 1974 governing investment has not been made clear yet. We hope that a decision clarifying and setting this price will be issued.

Seventh, there is no doubt that the manner in which the market is managed and the dynamism of the market will have the biggest impact on the success of the currency market and on its achievement of its main objectives, the most important of which is the objective of setting a realistic price for the dollar versus the Egyptian pound to attract, rather than repel, savings, in addition to unifying the prices of foreign currencies instead of having the multiplicity of prices that has prevailed for a long time.

Last, but not least, Dr Mustafa Kamil al-Sa'id, the man who issued the new decree, has come up with something new and has achieved for the government the first success that affects the life of the Egyptian citizen, the cost of living, the foreign trade, the budget deficit and the increase of production. Despite the ferocious campaign to which he has been subjected recently, Dr al-Sa'id has proven that he is a top-notch democrat, that he is capable of strongly and firmly facing the storms to which he is subjected and that he

has been able to make the most difficult political decision that has faced the current cabinet--a decision which the previous governments were unable to make. This proves that the democratic experience in Egypt is moving forth with steady steps despite all the difficulties that it may encounter at the outset.

8494

CSO: 4504/183

EGYPT

## NEW CURRENCY EXCHANGE REGULATIONS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Usamah Saraya: "Independent Foreign Currency Center of Authorized Banks Will Do Business At Announced Exchange Rate"]

[Text] At the beginning of the press conference, held yesterday by Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of the economy, to confirm the new ministerial decrees to reorganize the currency market in Egypt, he clarified a number of basic points, the most important being that the economic issue occupies top priority in the concerns of the political leadership, as well as the concerns of President Husni Mubarek and the National Party. This is in the framework of achieving the goals of the 5-year plan and the strong desire to change the economic open-door policy to a production open-door policy, together with concentrating on the social dimensions of the open-door policy.

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id said that we have a strong banking system and that in accordance with our situation, the banks occupy a position of considerable importance, since they are the most important of the economic sectors, if compared in terms of volume, deposits and credit. One must also add to that the ability and skills of those working in the banking system. As proof, it is enough to say that as of last September, we had deposits valued at \$8 billion in our banks. Therefore, the banking system has a capability that must be made the most of, in order to achieve the goals of the economic development plan and to convert the economic open door to production while stressing the social dimensions.

Therefore, Egypt's plan to achieve that has three basic principles:

1. Concentrate on the Central Bank's capability and supervision over all the banks, and achieve its independence and control over banks operating in Egypt.
2. Direct the banking system to adhere to the principles of credit, whether regarding the amount of credit or pertaining to regulations and guarantees.

3. Work toward the banking system's discipline with regard to dealing with foreign currency.

Through laws, we have been completely successful in achieving the first two principles, through the support of the Central Bank and the promulgation of law No 50 for 1984, which confirmed the independence of the Central Bank. In addition to that, statistics show that all the banks are adhering to application of the credit principles. As for the third principle, with regard to reorganizing the currency market, we have made considerable progress toward achieving this since the second half of 1984, by smashing the monopoly of merchants and currency brokers' dealings in foreign currency. In March 1984, the door was opened for the banking system to deal in the free market, buying and selling foreign currency, in order to satisfy the foreign currency needs of the public and private sectors for importing purposes. This experience was fruitful. "It made clear to us the measures required to develop this system and achieve the ultimate goal, as well as the difficulties that obstruct its development."

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of economy and trade, stated that the new organization of the currency market does not mean devaluation of the 83-piaster Egyptian pound, which stays as it is for a group of currencies. "However, we have shifted dealing in the currency market from the illegal black market to the banks."

One of the reporters questioned whether that did not mean recognizing reality, and the minister replied, "no, we did not recognize reality, but we have recognized the merchants and currency brokers. They are reality. However, we have reorganized the currency market to make it agree with reality."

#### Importing Without Converting Currency

The question was raised on whether, in accordance with the new system, importing without converting currency was abolished.

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of economy: "If we define importing without converting currency as being importing from private sources of foreign currency, that is, buying currency from the free market for importing purposes, then in accordance with this definition, it has been abolished. Importing in Egypt will be through the banks and in the Egyptian pound. The banks will make the foreign currency arrangements, in order to satisfy the needs of the private sector."

#### Monetary Fund's Position

In reply to a question about the Monetary Fund's position, and whether there were consultations with it concerning applying the new policy, the minister of

the economy said that economic policy in Egypt was designed by the government and determined in accordance with our economic situation and Egyptian economic needs. "When we drew up this policy, it might or might not have been in accord with the Monetary Fund or the World Bank."

"Despite our desire to improve our economic relations with the international organizations, this does not interfere with our policy. However, this new policy undoubtedly will have a positive effect on improving our relations with the Monetary Fund."

The minister was asked if we had obtained a monetary cover from the Fund, in order to apply this policy. The minister said: "We do not need that. We have sufficient resources. As sufficient evidence of that, the banking system has deposits of some \$8 billion."

"I shall say again that we drew up our policy based on our needs and not of the need to reach an agreement with the Monetary Fund or any other organization."

With regard to freeing the Egyptians' foreign currency deposits, the minister of the economy announced several important decisions. The most important of these decisions gives exporters the right to use the revenue gained from their exports to import the materials required to develop their export industries. It was also decided to sell an amount of up to 50 percent to a consortium of commercial banks for export of citrus fruits, onions, potatoes and peanuts, at new flexible prices, so that the exporters will benefit.

#### Tourism and a New Step

With respect to tourism, tourists will be able to exchange foreign currency at new, flexible rates. This change is an important privilege for them, in order to push tourism and maintain the source of foreign currency derived from tourists, instead of this money circulating in the black market. However, we would still retain a \$150 fee that the tourist coming to Egypt would have to change at the 83-piaster rate.

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, the minister of economy, has issued four executive decrees for monetary policy, importing, and freeing the bank deposits of Egyptians from all restrictions. The first decree includes forming a committee to set the Egyptian pound's exchange rate against foreign currencies, in accordance with daily supply and demand. In order to implement that, the committee will meet every morning to announce the new buying and selling rates and will immediately inform all the banks dealing with this matter. The second decree pertains to restricting to banks only the right to convert currency for importing purposes. The importer will pay the amount in Egyptian pounds. In addition, it reduces the amount of monetary insurance for importing by as much as one-half, provided that the importer receives it in Egyptian pounds.

As for the third decree, it regulates the use of private resources and frees up the Egyptians' foreign currency deposits by not distinguishing, when accounts are opened, between money of known sources and unknown sources, and by not giving any privileges to private account holders with respect to importing. The last decree pertains to reorganizing foreign currency operations and their implementing regulations.

7005

CSO: 4504/175



EGYPT

#### MINERAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, SUBSIDY PROBLEMS VIEWED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1468, 21 Dec 84 pp 52, 53

[Text] News of mineral resource discoveries in Egypt has been constant throughout the past month, and this news has coincided with discussion in the Egyptian papers about "correcting subsidies."

Regarding the mineral resource discoveries, Egyptian Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources 'Abd-al-Hadi Qandil has announced that ten new oilfields began production during the last fiscal year, which helped the petroleum sector to achieve a balance of payments surplus of \$2,327,000,000, an increase of 5 percent over the previous fiscal year, and this despite the drop in world oil prices.

The Egyptian minister said that Egyptian crude oil production currently is estimated at about 902,000 b/d, including natural gases that equal 100,000 b/d. This means that for the past fiscal year production reached 41.9 million tons.

Concerning other mineral exploitation, Qandil announced that Egypt now has 95 gold mines, over 1 billion tons of phosphate, billions of tons of gypsum and silicon used for glass manufacturing, and new zinc and copper mines located in the southeast of the Sinai.

On the occasion of the first international conference for the evaluation of Egypt's mineral, oil and underground water resources, the minister said that his country has many minerals under its soil that require advanced technological methods for their extraction and exploitation. He stated that satellite photography had been taken of 85 percent of Egypt's territory, and that geological survey maps had been prepared for 65 percent of the land area. He added that more than half a million samples of geological formations are currently being analyzed in the analysis laboratories of the Surveying Authority. He reiterated that his government's policy gives priority to the extraction of raw materials that are currently being imported from abroad. The goal of this is to achieve self-sufficiency in these materials and export the surplus to world markets.

However, the optimistic picture that is painted of Egypt's mineral capabilities is still darkened by the shadow of the subsidy burden. Egyptian



officials never fail to miss the opportunity to remind that subsidies still drain the greater portion of any growth in the national income. Based on this premise, it was not unusual that the news of Egypt's mineral capacities was accompanied with a clear heightening in the tone of the ongoing debate about official subsidies and the necessity of "correcting" them. Even the universities have entered the fray recently by preparing academic studies of this "urgent national issue."

The first of these studies revealed surprising conclusions, the foremost being that:

-- 23 percent of the populace do not need subsidies at all. By way of correction, the subsidies burden can be reduced 33 percent from the current amount. This would be the equivalent of about 220 million Egyptian pounds in subsidies allocations.

-- The subsidies policy cannot take world prices alone into consideration and ignore social circumstances. It is necessary to steady local economic fluctuations.

-- It is necessary to apply "more equitable" policies in redistributing the national income in the interest of the low income level groups and "more determined" policies of collecting taxes and debts to the state from those who are able.

-- It is necessary for the National Authority for Oversight and Planning to conduct periodic reviews of salary and price levels.

-- "Correcting" the course of subsidization must take place in the context of a national policy of financial and economic reform to solve the fundamental economic problem.

-- Low income Egyptians and those who need subsidies must be compensated with financial aid to replace the current subsidies in the event that they are eliminated.

Observers of Egyptian economic news note that between Egypt's promised economic future and its current reality lies a decision, whose announcement is awaiting the appropriate opportunity. This leads one to believe that the current period is preparation for a shift that is coming in the Egyptian subsidies policy.

12608

CSO: 4504/150

EGYPT

# COUNTRY'S EMIGRATION POLICY CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 20 Dec 84 p 3

[Editorial by Ahmad Abu-al-Fath: "God Save Us"]

[Text] They said not to unearth the past.

Suddenly the government is not only unearthing the past, but it is exhuming from the coffins of dictatorship a law from among the laws that the dictator imposed to turn Egypt into a huge prison from which no one can leave except those whom the dictator permits to leave.

No one who wants to work abroad can ever leave Egypt unless he has a work contract, and those who have contracts must not try to leave Egypt unless they have obtained a work permit from the Egyptian government. The airlines and shipping companies are forbidden from selling tickets, and customs agents at the airports and ports are forbidden from permitting travel to those who do not have a work permit from the Egyptian government!

They have decided to re-lock the prison.

Why?

Yes, why? Why have the fences been rebuilt around Egypt? Why this law that causes unlimited hardships for 4 million Egyptians who work abroad? If they were prohibited from repatriating their savings to Egypt, the Egyptian economy would fall to its complete demise. Why should we prevent someone who wants to look for work abroad from traveling when such a person only resorts to travel because the regime, which weighs heavy on Egypt's breast, has only provided job opportunities to patrons and supporters? Egypt is the poorer for having allowed every hypocrite to siphon off the state's money and the people's resources however he wishes.

Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Hayy can confiscate more than 4 million pounds and leave Egypt with it, but a young man who only possesses his ambitions cannot leave with his skin. Is this reasonable?

Examples like that of Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Hayy are more common than one imagines, and millions of youth live with worries of looking for means to face life.

How can the government let those who have embezzled tens of millions leave Egypt with the millions [of pounds] that they have pilfered while it prevents the youth from answering the noble call of God, the Sublime and Exalted, who urged His servants to go forth to all corners of the earth, which He has made hospitable to them, and benefit from its surplus.

God calls on His servants and the government holds them back. And Egypt is said to be an Islamic state.

#### Feelings of Regression

Many people repeat with concern and ask in surprise: Will Egypt revert to what it was during the dictatorial era? One says: It is indeed surprising that the government demands that the past not be revived, then it turns to this past to take the most loathsome of its laws and hold it up in the faces of Egyptians. It is strange that the government, which wants to deal with the rising waves of anger of the Egyptians toward this law, should say that it did not originate this law, but that it is an existing law put on the books in 1958.

Who is it that is exhuming the past and extracting the worst creations of dictatorial rule? A second person says: The government is waving the most hideous of weapons in the faces of Egyptians who have borne the burden of emigration. The government gives them two choices, both of which are extremely bitter. Every emigre must choose between submitting meekly to the dictatorship of the law or uprooting himself completely from Egypt, not returning to Egypt, and not treading on its soil. He is forbidden from visiting his family and friends and from renewing his passport when it expires. In other words, the choice is submission or banishment.

A third says: The government has searched through its old portfolio to find laws that will rob Egyptians of their money, and it found this law. But if half, or even one quarter, of the Egyptians working abroad were forced to submit to the law and were prevented from repatriating their savings to Egypt, this would lead to damage far in excess of what the government would reap from imposing this dictatorial law.

A fourth says: President al-Sadat, may he rest in peace, abolished this law and all laws that were imposed during the era that the Egyptian judiciary has described as the black era, the era that stripped Egyptians of their individual rights. We are surprised to see that the government seems to forget the elimination of these laws on 15 May 1971, but it remembers that the law was issued in 1958.

#### False Gratification...and Neglecting Gratification of Egyptians

One says: Did you go down al-Jala' Street last Saturday, the day that the president went down it? How I wish that the newspaper AL-AHRAM had gone down there to see the surprise. The street, which had been dug up everywhere and whose sides were covered with piles of garbage, suddenly turned into a street with pavement reflecting the sun's rays like a mirror. The garbage had disappeared and in its place were cuttings of flowers and decorative plants.

How I wish that the president would be so kind as to ask his driver to turn and go down a side street so that he could see the glaring difference between the road prepared by the authorities for him to pass along and the rest of the roads in the capital which are paid no heed because it is only Egyptians that pass along them.

Do you remember when President al-Sadat visited al-Fayyum district? The government rented cows from the people, crowded them into a government place and claimed that they were the product of government farms. Then President al-Sadat discovered the truth of the matter. Does the government imagine that President Mubarak will be fooled by paving the roads that he passes along?

#### Discussion of Wishes

Discussion then moved to wishes.

One said: How I wish that the president's time would include driving every day through one of Cairo's districts so that it would be paved, the garbage picked up and the puddles of sewage cleaned up. In this way, what the Egyptians cannot hope to be achieved without the president spending his time this way would be achieved. Of course, the president's time will not be spent this way because the problems of the government do not end.

One interrupts, saying: How I wish that the president would send someone to any government office to try to resolve some matter so that he could return and inform the president of the Egyptians' dilemma in their dealings with the government.

Another says: How I wish that the president would charge someone with going to the authorities to pursue an investment project so that he could learn of the nausea that would afflict this person as a result of the unhonored requests and the unending complications, all of which would dissuade this person from investing or trying to set up any type of project.

A fourth says: I don't suppose that there is anyone among those who can inform the president of the facts who has tried to reclaim arid land and turn it into arable land. Such a person could tell the president the bitter reality experienced by everyone who has spent years of toil and tremendous sums of money in transforming the arid desert into fertile farmland in hopes that the government would grant him ownership of this land at no charge. He could tell the president how the minister of agriculture agreed to grant ownership, but the minister's orders are worthless because of the demands, arbitrary decisions and complications of the civil servants. He could inform the president that it would be impossible for him to obtain ownership of the land, with or without charge, unless he submitted to everything that he is forced to accept.

Great are the wishes of the people and the burdens they would throw on the president...

Where is the Economy Going?

Where is the economy headed? Are we regressing to the distant past? Did the open door policy end? What is the "rationalization" of imports? These questions do not cease to roll off the tongues of the masses who are worried.

The price of the dollar in the market was 118 qirsh; so the minister of economy came and announced that the banks would buy the dollar at an official price of 112 qirsh. The price of the dollar in the market jumped the same day to 125 qirsh and after that continued to rise.

Who would convert his savings at the bank when he could do it at prices better than the bank's?

Did the minister of economy not expect that raising the government price from 84 to 112 qirsh would lead to an increase in the open market?

What is stranger than this is that the minister issued a resolution freezing the accounts of currency traders, and the price of the dollar jumped to 140 qirsh and even more for dollar accounts that could be converted.

Does the minister of economy believe that he will force Egyptians with this resolution to convert and deposit their savings at the banks at the price that he has set? Is it reasonable for him to believe that someone with money will refrain from selling it to the highest bidder?

The result is unprecedented confusion in imports and a frightening shortage of dollars that has forced the government to search for lenders to confront the crisis.

There is complete confusion in currency prices. The dollar has four prices and perhaps more. Come and let us examine an example of government expenditures on investment. The example deals with the most important project that has gained the acceptance of Egyptians: chicken farming and egg production.

The minister of agriculture has agreed with the Union of Egg Producers on a price that would provide the producers with a reasonable profit. The Minister of Agriculture's actions, however, could not win the acceptance of the Minister of Supply, who, without discussion or meeting with the producers, imposed a price that is too low to cover the cost of production. The producers have tried to make the minister understand that this price would lead to destruction and that 600 million Egyptian pounds, most of which is in the form of bank loans, have been sunk into the egg production projects. This price will surely lead to the producers' inability to repay the loans, and this, in turn, will lead to losses that will not only affect the producers, but will also affect the banks and will eliminate all desire to invest. The minister, however, does not want to hear this and will not turn back. This will destroy the returns on investments.

The advanced world allows production to submit to the laws of supply and demand as long as the market is not dominated by a monopoly. Why doesn't the minister allow government and private sector production to compete? God only knows.

Then Comes the Work Permit Law

This law comes along to add to the confusion of the currency markets, to the actions that might lead to the destruction of the most important investment projects, and to the manipulation of imports that frees some producers to impose poor quality production on Egyptians. This law, which has been rejected by all writers and all Egyptians, makes the people ask:

Is it truly a regression to the laws that deprived Egyptians of their individual rights?

Is it truly a regression to political and economic closure?

God save us...and after God, may we be saved by the president's affirmation that there will be no regression to the past. May our lord help him to achieve this.

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CSO: 4504/150



EGYPT

# RELEASE OF POPE SHANUDAH WELCOMED AS STEP ON PATH OF FREEDOM

Qairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 4 Jan 85 p 12

[Editorial by Mustafa Amin]

[Text] We welcome the release of Pope Shanudah. We have demanded this release since the first day of his detention and voiced our demand repeatedly. Copts contacted us from all parts of the United States, Europe and Australia and we told them that it is inevitable that the pope would be released from his detention and would resume his activities.

From the pope was arrested, some Copts opposed him. When he was arrested and dismissed from his position, his opponents became his most ardent supporters because oppression strengthens, rather than weakens, the oppressed. The banners descending on Pope Shanudah's head did not destroy him but rather strengthened his position and status in the hearts of the Copts.

What we must note is that the day 'Umar al-Talmasani, the leader of the Islamic Brotherhood, was released, he demanded the release of Pope Shanudah and then voiced his demand repeatedly. Many Muslims did the same. So the issue was not one of a Copt and a Muslim but was rather one of freedom or no freedom.

We stand with the Coptic patriarch even though we are Muslims who adhere to our faith. But at the same time, we believe in the freedom of faith and believe that there is no coercion in faith. We further believe that Egypt's real strength lies in the full unity of Copts and Muslims.

We cannot forget that the banner of the 1919 revolution bore the sign of the crescent with the cross inside it and that the blood of our country's Christians mingled with the blood of its Muslims in all our battles and all our wars. We cannot forget what the civil war has brought upon Lebanon. Both the Christians and the Muslims in Lebanon have been defeated and Israel has triumphed. The Christians imagined that they would control Lebanon through this war and the Muslims imagined that they would gain sole control of Lebanon. But Israel is the one that has prevailed, occupied their country, threw them into jails and detention camps, making their children orphans and their women widows, demolishing their homes and destroying their cities. The prettiest country in the Middle East has been turned into ruins ruled by gangs and inhabited by crows!

The unity of our country's Christians and Mulims will continue as long as the waters of our Nile continue to flow. The most important quality of our people will continue to be their tolerance, their respect for the main religions and their belief that the Egyptian Christian has the same rights and duties as the Egyptian Muslim. We will always reject sectarianism and fanaticism and we will fight whoever tries to ignite the fire in this beautiful country which has been able, thanks to its unity, to stand fast in the face of invaders, oppressors and tyrants and to endure tribulations and crises.

Tolerance is civilization and fanaticism is a state of ignorance. We have seen what is happening in Ireland as a result of the split between Protestants and Catholics and what has happened in India as a result of the strife between Hindus and Sikhs. We experienced our glorious days when priests delivered their speeches in mosques and shaykhs delivered theirs in churches during the 1919 revolution.

I have been as happy with the release of the Coptic patriarch as I would be with the release of the shaykh of al-Azhar if he were the one arrested because I feel that the release of Pope Shanudah is tantamount to the release of freedom.

This is a good step on the path of restoring Egypt to a normal life, not a special life, and restoring an Egypt that is united, not divided, by religions.

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CSO: 4504/173



EGYPT

#### BRIEFS

ROLE OF AL-AHRAM NEWSPAPER--President Husni Mubarak's visit to AL-AHRAM newspaper premises last week has aroused the interest of the political and diplomatic circles in the Egyptian capital because the significance of the visit has gone beyond the limits of an initiative of appreciation by President Mubarak for the number-one Egyptian paper and has assumed the meaning of support for the political positions underlined by AL-AHRAM, whether at the domestic level or at the Arab and international levels. The point at which the observers have paused is that the visit to AL-AHRAM came in the wake of the talks held by President Mubarak with U.S. envoy Richard Murphy, who was received in Cairo with a strongly worded article criticizing the U.S. policy through Murphy's movements. The article stressed the need for Israel's full and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon as a first step with which to move toward the area's pending issues. Informed sources have revealed an additional and fundamental role on which the U.S. envoy focused in his visits to the area's various capitals--a role pertaining to overcoming the obstacles that prevent a meeting between the Egyptian president and the Israeli prime minister. However, Mubarak has not changed his declared position on this issue. Information circulated by diplomatic sources in more than one Arab capital indicates that a top-level Egyptian-Israeli meeting has been postponed while waiting for regional results on which the decision is in Cairo's hands. [Text] [London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 28 Dec 84 p 8] 8494

CSO: 4504/176

ISRAEL

# BACKGROUND GIVEN ON PRIME MINISTER'S AIDES

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English 9-15 Jan 85 pp 16-19

[Article by Ya'acov Bar-Natan]

[Text]

**"M**ark my words: If he takes office Shimon Peres will become the most popular prime minister Israel has ever had and one of the best."

The speaker was Dr. Yisrael Peleg and he made this prediction early in 1984, before the fall of the Likud government, when Yitzhak Navon's supporters in the Labor Party were calling the party chairman a liability and Peres' low popularity rating seemed to bear them out. Peleg was then spokesman of the Labor Alignment caucus in the Knesset and Alignment representative at the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Now he is director of the Government Press Office and one of the group of young men whom Peres has gathered about him at the Prime Minister's Office, "Peres' boys" as they have been nicknamed.

Every morning at eight, six days a week, this select group meets to discuss the business of the day. In addition to Peleg, there is Dr. Yossi Beilin, the cabinet secretary, Dr. Nimrod Novik, political adviser to the prime minister, and Uri Savir, the prime minister's media adviser. All are in their thirties. Amnon Neubach will also join the group when his appointment as economic adviser to the prime minister is finalized.

The purpose of the meeting is to prepare the prime minister for the tasks and problems he will encounter in the course of the day. "We try to bring as much information as possible, from academic as well as government sources," explains Beilin, "and we try to reach a consensus on each issue. If there are differences we cannot reconcile, we tell

the prime minister there are two views and he can then choose between them. Stress is laid on the media aspect of each issue, on the way in which it is to be presented. The aim here is to avoid discrepancies and to make sure the Prime Minister's Office speaks with one voice."

Not all of "Peres' boys" were brought in from the Labor Party administration. Neubach is employed by the

American-Israel Paper Mills Company and before that he was an adviser at the Finance Ministry. Savir came from the Foreign Ministry and was media adviser at the Israeli consulate in New York. Novik came from Tel Aviv University where he teaches international relations.

"I was recruited by Beilin over a year ago for what was later called the '100-day team,'" Novik recalls. "We prepared position papers for Peres on every issue he would confront if and when he became prime minister. We drew up papers on the Lebanese crisis, the economy, the relationship between the Interior Ministry and the local authorities — on every major issue. Each paper was written by one member of the team, depending on his field of expertise. The others would submit comments and criticism, Peres would occasionally add his comments and the paper was then put into a safe. But it would be updated every three months, or if circumstances changed." This basic approach is still used by the staff today.

"At first Peres was wary of us," Novik comments. "He maintained a certain distance, but when he saw the papers were useful and — no less important — that we never leaked information to the media, he became more informal and forthcoming."

Novik and Peleg are extroverts. Novik has a ready smile. Beilin and Savir are soft-spoken and low-key. When Peres became prime minister, Novik recalls how they originally intended to appoint a veteran journalist as media adviser, as previous administrations had done. "Then it occurred to us that there was a pool of experienced spokesmen and spokeswomen in the civil service. We looked around for one with an American orientation and Savir fit the bill."

Savir's office is on the same floor as the prime minister's, and the proximity reflects the importance Peres attaches to public relations. "The traditional Israeli spokesman is passive,"

Savir says, "in the sense that he responds to questions which are put to him or to issues which crop up involving his ministry. I plan a strategy, a dialogue with the public. Every two weeks the prime minister appears in a different part of the country — Dimona, Beer-sheba, Ashkelon, Beit Shean. I am very much against overexposing him. For instance, he has given only one sit-down interview to *Mabat* [Israel Television's nightly newscast] since he became prime minister. Instead I am trying to use the media to achieve a long-term effect in order to determine the national agenda."

Savir says he presently has close to 60 requests for interviews with Peres. He might choose one or more of the 60, or he might go to a newspaper or radio station which has not even placed a request, depending on the size and nature of its audience.

Both Savir and Novik emphasize that a modern, systematic, coordinated bureau is rare in the Israeli civil service. Savir says coordination of this kind is the secret of United States President Ronald Reagan's political success: his administration speaks, on the whole, with one voice. Novik admits the youthful team has not managed to plug all the leaks and it is still possible that news reports will appear attributed to "cir-

cles in the Prime Minister's Office." "There is nothing wrong with that," Novik says, "provided the report came from Uri and was agreed upon." Novik refuses to say where he suspects leaks might come from, however.

The director general of the Prime Minister's Office is not a Peres appointee. He is Major-General (res.) Avraham Tamir, a follower of Ezer Weizman and number three on the Yahad list. Tamir was appointed as part of the coalition agreement. Yet Weizman has more than once expressed his displeasure with the existing coalition and would conceivably not mourn its passing. New elections or the formation of a narrow Labor-led government would certainly have an effect on the power balance within the Prime Minister's Office.

The most pugnacious of "Peres' boys" is Boaz Applebaum, director of the Prime Minister's Bureau. Beilin, in accord with his position as cabinet secretary, avoids criticism of the Likud. Applebaum has no such restrictions — or compunctions.

"Under the Likud, the staff of the Prime Minister's Office went home at one or two in the afternoon," he says. "We are all here until 11 or 12 o'clock at night." (This latter point is borne out by others, including reporters who cover

the Prime Minister's Office.) Asserts Applebaum: "The entire civil service feels the difference. All the matters being dealt with by the various ministries converge at this office. The ministries know there is someone here when they need us and they know we are keeping tabs on the implementation of every government decision, every instruction from the prime minister. For the good civil servants it's a boon and for those less conscientious it's an object lesson."

Applebaum's association with the Labor Party goes back to his days as secretary of Haifa University's student Labor Party branch. When Haim Bar-Lev was minister of trade and industry Applebaum was in charge of the council which encourages the production of films in Israel. Then the Likud came to power and Bar-Lev was replaced by Yigael Hurwitz. Applebaum says Hurwitz did all he could to make his (Applebaum's) position untenable.

"I found budgets were not coming through. Productions were sabotaged. Investments went down the drain. After nine months I resigned. And then I got a phone call from Peres saying: 'you belong with us.'"

Applebaum recalls the atmosphere of despair at the time, 1978, at Labor Party headquarters in Tel Aviv. "The place was empty, except for Peres, Beilin and myself. When someone passed outside in the corridor, you could hear his footsteps throughout the building. There wasn't money even for postage stamps. The party was split. There were Rabin, Allon and Peres camps. Begin was at the height of his power. We had to travel the length and breadth of the country, trying to put new life into the local branches. Then came the municipal elections and things began to look up. Sadat began to take an interest in Peres. The party was on the mend."

Given the competition and the limited number of key jobs, it is not surprising to find those who are displeased with the "Peres' boys" phenomenon. One veteran Israeli newsman wrote: If Peres wanted to reward his faithful followers, he should have given them a medal, not a job in the government. Savir says he has heard about veteran civil servants jealous of the influence exercised by the relative newcomers, but he has never encountered it personally. "I have excellent relations with Avi Pazner and Nahman Shai [media advisers to Yitzhak Shamir and Yitzhak Rabin]," Savir says. Novik goes further. "I have had excellent cooperation from all senior civil servants," he says. "There is an enormous reservoir of knowledge and experience in the Israeli civil service. I know that if Hanan Bar-On or

Yeshayahu Anug (senior Foreign Ministry officials) give me advice, it is the best advice available."

But how much influence does Peres' staff actually exercise? Beilin admits he was frustrated at not having been elected to the Knesset on the Labor Party list (he was ranked fifty-fourth), but he has been surprised by the scope of of the cabinet secretary's job. "I have found that the cabinet

secretary is in a unique position, because of his contacts with all the ministers, to obtain information. He can be extremely well-informed and can exercise some influence."

Beilin says the "Peres' boys" phenomenon marks a return to the days of David Ben-Gurion, when the State of Israel was run by young men such as Yitzhak Navon, Abba Eban and Shimon Peres himself. Significantly, Beilin is much closer to Peres than any of the other staff members. Novik says the degree of trust Beilin enjoys is unparalleled in the entire political system.

However, there are limits to the influence wielded by the prime minister's advisers, including Beilin. Peres sometimes has to weigh the advice of his own people against the position of another cabinet minister. He can reject the advice of "Peres' boys" more easily, because there are no political re-

percussions. "If he rejects the advice of a cabinet colleague there is a political price to pay," Beilin says. The young advisers have also long since learned that Peres does not accept their advice without question.

If any of the "Peres boys" can see the fruits of their labor, it is Uri Savir; since taking office, Peres' public image has improved remarkably. In a survey conducted by Sarah Shemer, a well-known Israeli pollster, 47 percent of those questioned said they would like to see Peres as prime minister in 1986, an increase of 22 percent from an earlier poll. The Modi'in Ezrahi poll asked the same question six months ago and found Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir leading Peres by 32 points. Now Peres is leading by 22 points. The Hebrew daily *Ma'ariv* survey shows a significant gain for Peres among the Oriental communities, where the most fervent Likud supporters are to be found.

This development has in turn produced worry and concern on the part of the Likud leadership. It is even conceivable that certain Likud politicians will press for early elections rather than allowing Peres and the Labor Party to accumulate too much popular support.

Savir contends that Peres' new strength is the result of the prime min-

ister's own efforts. Some people expected Peres would introduce draconian fiscal measures to solve the economic crisis in one fell swoop. This approach — quick and simple solutions to problems — is traditionally favored by large sections of the Israeli public. But Peres has repeatedly stated that reform is a process calling for patience and persistence.

"Peres has introduced a new style into Israeli politics," Savir says. "more restrained and civilized. He is modest but self-assured. He is trying to teach the public that one can be a strong leader and make difficult decisions without being flamboyant or showing muscle. If he succeeds, it will be a major educational achievement." Savir sees Peres and Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon as representing two opposite styles, the dichotomy of Israeli politics.

There is some speculation whether the "Peres boys" represent the future leadership of the Labor Party. This seems premature if not far-fetched. Savir will probably return to the Foreign Ministry sooner or later. Novik, though he came from a Ben-Gurionist family and regarded Peres as the best candidate for prime minister from the time Ben-Gurion retired, will probably return to the academic world. Beilin will certainly try again to be elected to the Knesset and this time, the others feel certain, he

will make it. But he has no illusions about the long road to the top.

"Israel's Labor Party is a typical social-democratic party in that people tend to make the party their career," Beilin explains. "Consequently there is always a long waiting list. In right-wing parties such as the Likud, people come in from the business world or various professions and also return there, so they have a more rapid turnover than Labor. The Likud therefore enjoys a better spread of ages.

Beilin himself was not surprised or disappointed at being placed so far down the list of candidates for the last elections. He concedes only, "I was surprised Haim Ramon [Beilin's colleague in the party's Young Guard] was placed so high." Ramon was in fact the only member of the Young Guard elected to the Knesset.

If the Young Guard remains well represented in the parliamentary caucus, its alumnae have done rather better. Uzi Baram, the party secretary general, was a founder of the Young Guard. Adi Amorai, new deputy minister of finance, and Knesset Member Nava Arad are both former members of the Young Guard. Concludes MK Shevah Weiss, a professor of political science, "The Young Guard of yesterday is blocking the way for the Young Guard of today."

ISRAEL

# ARAB AFFAIRS PERSONNEL CHANGES DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English 16-22 Jan 85 p 8

[Text] *The appointment of a new Arab affairs adviser may herald change in policy toward Israeli Arabs*

A week ago, Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman told the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs, Binyamin Gur Arye, that he was fired. In his place, Weizman appointed Dr. Yosef Ginat as his own assistant on Arab affairs. Ginat would also head a new, advisory council of Arabs and Jews. Meanwhile, Gur Arye has obtained a court order delaying the dismissal. In the past, both Ginat and Gur Arye served as deputies to Shmuel Toledano, the longest-serving adviser on Arab affairs. Toledano discussed the controversy with Newsview's Jerry Cheslow.

**Newsview:** *Is the controversy one of personalities or of real issues?*

**Toledano:** Of issues, I'm sure. There are two approaches. One says, 'let's continue dealing with the problems of the Arabs of Israel — local problems, individual problems and try and solve them.' Now there is the new approach, recommended by two groups of Jewish and Arab experts who studied this problem. This approach says local and individual problems are unimportant. We have to solve the larger problems of an Arab minority of 600,000 in a Jewish state. How should we educate the Arabs of Israel? Should we confiscate land? Should we have Jews and Arabs living together or is it better that Arabs will live in the Galilee Triangle area and the Negev while Jews live in the towns?

**Newsview:** *Gur Arye's view is that the Arabs of Israel are moving toward irredentism, radicalism and, if his approach is not followed, there will be a secessionist movement in Galilee.*

**Toledano:** The reason for extremism is the feeling of discrimination. It's not a problem of Mahmoud and Mustafa in a certain village. It's a problem of 600,000 people feeling they are not equal. This is the fact and there is no reason why they should not be equal. The government of Israel decided in 1966 to integrate the Arabs of Israel equally in every part of our lives. And I think the sooner we do it, the better.

**Newsview:** *Both of the men served under you as adviser on Arab affairs. Can you outline what each man stands for?*

**Toledano:** Ginat, the designated Arab affairs adviser, thinks more liberally, shall we say he thinks more like me. And he was a member of these two groups which recommended the new approach. Gur Arye doesn't believe in the new approach. Once the government had approved it, Gur Arye could not continue.

**Newsview:** *Are you saying that there is no validity to Gur Arye's claims of a growing secessionist movement?*

**Toledano:** In 1984, you cannot keep using this policy of carrot and stick. It's insulting, it's nonsense. It worked in my period. A good village used to have more resources. It's a policy that is well known. You give more to those who are with you, with the state. It is good policy in a certain situation to help those who help you. The minute you speak with intellectuals, with thinkers, people who understand, the stick doesn't frighten them and they can continue living without the carrot . . . This is a new population. We have 200,000 Arab Sabras born in the State of Israel, who speak Hebrew fluently. You can't speak to them the way you spoke to their parents. It's finished.

Newsview: *Who would serve on Ginat's council and how would it be structured?*

Toledano: Fifty percent would be Arabs, 50 percent would be Jews. And for the first time the Arabs could not say 'we didn't take part in the recommendations.' There will be six or seven groups. A group for education, a group for land, a group to decide whether Jews and Arabs should live together. Every group will sit three, four months and examine the problems on a long-term basis and then make recommendations to the government.

Newsview: *The Arabs are divided from the most extreme Sons of the Village, which doesn't accept the State of Israel, all the way to identification with the Likud. How will the members of the council be chosen?*

Toledano: I would say five percent belong to the extreme anti-Israel group. And some five percent say Israel is sweet and whatever Israel does is excellent. Ninety percent of Israeli Arabs agree they are a minority in the Jewish state but are not happy and want equality. The council members will be taken from that 90 percent who form the vast majority of Israeli Arabs. All of the problems to be dealt with by the council will be issues that cannot lead to secessionism. They are problems of building, of education, of labor which cannot endanger the State of Israel, even if the decision taken is the wrong one. □

CSO: 4400/69



ISRAEL

## COMMUNITY LEADER DISCUSSES INTEGRATION OF ETHIOPIANS

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English 9-15 Jan 84 pp 5-6

[Article by Jerry Cheslow: "They Arrived as Skeletons"]:

[Text]

*Israel has finally revealed the extent of the airlift to rescue the Ethiopian Jewish community. One of the first Ethiopians to arrive in Israel was Rahamim Elazar, who is now chairman of the Public Council for Ethiopian Jews. Elazar spoke to Newsview's Jerry Cheslow about the absorption of the Ethiopians in Israel.*

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**Newsview:** *The airlift of Ethiopian Jews has apparently been stopped. What is your reaction?*

**Elazar:** I hope it won't happen, but if it does it will be a tragedy for the Ethiopian Jews. I think there was a kind of conspiracy. First of all, the Prime Minister's Office decided to hold a press conference on Thursday when they should have denied the information that had already come out. Instead they confirmed that it was happening and the following day newspapers all over the world publicized the issue. Then there was the Jewish Agency which started to talk about the immigration when they shouldn't have.

**Newsview:** *If there really was a conspiracy, what do you think was the reason?*

**Elazar:** Number one, everyone wants to be the first to publicize the issue and take the credit. Everyone wants the

crown. I also think that some people do not want the Ethiopian Jews to come to Israel. They are afraid of mass immigration and the absorption problems it might cause.

**Newsview:** *One of the reasons the story of the airlift came out is that a Jewish Agency official Yehuda Dominitz revealed in an interview that most of the Ethiopian Jews are already in Israel. What's your feeling about these remarks?*

**Elazar:** First of all, it is not true that most are in Israel. Second, it was a very stupid remark that I wouldn't expect from a key person in the operation. The Ethiopian Jewish community is very angry about this. I just hope it won't jeopardize the others on the way.

**Newsview:** *Just how many Ethiopian Jews have arrived in Israel in the past few months?*

**Elazar:** The estimates are about 6,000 in the last three months.

**Newsview:** *What kind of physical shape are they in after the long trek to the airlift?*

**Elazar:** They arrived as skeletons. They are suffering from malnutrition and are psychologically in bad shape because of the long journey. Most of them lost family members along the way. From the moment they arrive in Israel, they need special care and attention.

**Newsview:** *Your father is among those*



*who have just arrived. What was it like to see him 11 years after you left Ethiopia?*

**Elazar:** It was a dream come true. I couldn't believe he was my father because his physical condition was so terrible. At the same time, I'm happy he arrived alive. He's now under medical care.

**Newsview:** *In the 11 years you've been in Israel, you've caught up with modern civilization. Your father is 1,000 years behind because of the primitive village he came from. Do you still have anything in common?*

**Elazar:** I personally have been working with the newcomers, so I'm not so removed from the ways of the Ethiopian village. So we were immediately able to talk openly.

**Newsview:** *Ethiopian villages are patriarchal. But now, your father is incapable of crossing a street. Are your roles reversed?*

**Elazar:** Oh yes. There are no buses or streets in their villages. Everything is new for him. So I'm teaching him about traffic lights and crossing streets. In the house, I'm teaching him that he can go into the kitchen and prepare tea for himself and his wife. In Ethiopia, for a man to go into the kitchen was humiliating. He's starting to understand that's the way of life here.

**Newsview:** *According to reports, up to 2,000 Ethiopian Jews died on the way. What's the feeling in the community? Is it more joy over the arrival in Israel or more sadness?*

**Elazar:** The entire community is in a state of mourning. Everybody has lost someone. At the same time, there's rejoicing when they meet their family members.

**Newsview:** *What's the first thing people do when they get off the plane?*

**Elazar:** We tell them that they have finally arrived in the State of Israel, to which they have always prayed. Everybody lays down and kisses the ground. After that, we take them to absorption centers, where they undergo medical treatment and receive clothing and food. After two or three weeks, they start going to Hebrew language classes.

**Newsview:** *All Ethiopian Jews are deeply religious when they arrive. How do they accept secular Israel?*

**Elazar:** It's really hard for them to accept that some Jews are not religious. In Ethiopia, there are no secular Jews. Their motivation is not political Zionism, it's spiritual, mystical Zionism. They see coming to Jerusalem as a commandment. They sacrifice themselves for it. But, when they realize that in Israel some Jews drive on the Sabbath it's very hard for them, especially for the elders, to accept. It is the shattering of their illusions.

**Newsview:** *Ethiopian Jews are still forced to go through symbolic conversions at the insistence of the rabbinic establishment.*

**Elazar:** We found that a shock. After observing the commandments in Ethiopia, we came here and were forced to go through the humiliating ceremonial circumcision where a drop of blood had to be drawn. Now they have eliminated this, but still force the Ethiopians to immerse themselves [in ritual baths]. The Falasha community sees itself as no less Jewish than the others. There's no reason for any other Jew to demand this humiliation. I hope the rabbinate will give up this demand.

**Newsview:** *Some Israeli towns have rejected Ethiopian Jews. How does this make you feel?*

**Elazar:** Very bad. In Ethiopia, we were told that we don't belong and have no right to cultivate the land. I never thought that anyone in Israel could tell a Jew 'you have no right to live here.' Lately I've started to understand some development towns that claim that they don't have the facilities to receive people from backward countries. They don't have the abilities of the big towns to give the Ethiopians good education and jobs. The Ethiopians should get accommodation in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, not just in the periphery.

**Newsview:** *How quickly do Ethiopian Jews adapt?*

**Elazar:** The Ethiopian Jews come from a primitive country but they are not primitives. The people working in the absorption centers and the government workers all say that the Ethiopian Jews are intelligent, learn the language quickly. They fit into factories because in Ethiopia they worked with their hands as blacksmiths, carpenters, builders. They are very ambitious. They work hard to have the same houses as other Israelis. If you go into the house of

a Falasha who has been here for a year or two, you can see the same furniture as you will in the home of some one who came from Germany or the United States. If you look at education, we already have 75 university students and will soon have our first Israeli Falasha university graduates. We have students in technical colleges and nurses. We have outstanding students at schools.

**Newsview:** *Most of the Ethiopian children are sent to religious schools. Do you think this is right?*

**Elazar:** We are afraid that if they are all

sent to religious schools, they may not be educated to question. So we are thinking about sending some of them to other schools so that they can also help their community. Right now, we must put in a cornerstone. If they don't get the proper education, there may be the same problems of the [Oriental] immigrants of the fifties.

**Newsview:** *Over the years, Israel has tried absorbing different communities in different ways. Some were kept together. Others were broken up. What's the best way to absorb the Falashas?*

**Elazar:** I think they should be sent all over the country. There should be three or four Falasha families in a building along with other Israelis. This way they will not be lonely and will still have contact with other Israelis. I'm against having one neighborhood for Falashas. I don't want people to point to one area as the black neighborhood. At the same time, we have to find ways of preserving the culture. Maybe some Ethiopian Jews are ashamed of their backgrounds. But in the next generation, our grandchildren will come to us and ask, 'didn't we come from somewhere? Were our ancestors mountain people or cave people?' I want my grandson to be proud of his history and roots.

**Newsview:** *What's the most difficult problem the Ethiopian Jews have when they come to this country?*

**Elazar:** It's to start from zero and be totally dependent, as if they are reborn and must get their housing, money and food from others. They can't speak with people on the street. Then, there's the behavior of Israelis. Is it so hard for Israelis to say shalom to others? Just give the Ethiopian Jews a good word, shalom. If I say shalom to someone and he doesn't answer, I feel bad all day.

ISRAEL

REPORT RELEASED ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY, ACTIVITY

Jerusalem ISRAEL ENVIRONMENT BULLETIN in English No 1, Summer 1984, pp 1-8

[Text]

The tenth annual report on the state of the environment in Israel covers major developments in fifteen environmental realms. The 330 page volume, covering the period from January 1982 to March 1983, is based on information gathered from various sources including EPS staffers and governmental, academic and public bodies throughout Israel.

The latest report surveys such controversial issues as acid soot fallout in Ashdod, potable water quality, and mercury pollution in Haifa Bay. Alongside significant achievements, deficiencies still remain in such realms as legislation and enforcement, establishment of waste recycling facilities, establishment of a comprehensive system for treatment of hazardous waste and broadening of monitoring networks about focal points of air and noise pollution.

The following summary of the state of the environment in Israel surveys environmental policy and activity in 1982-3.

### **Air Quality**

While air quality in 1982 was generally good, a slow but nevertheless constant increase has been noted in national annual averages of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, and suspended particulates over the past four years.

In monitoring stations sited around major sources of pollution (i.e. power plants in Haifa, Tel Aviv and Ashdod), violations of the sulfur dioxide standard were noted. To solve the

problem, the Haifa Association of Local Authorities for Environmental Protection along with the EPS drafted a supervision and control program over major emission sources in Haifa

including power plants and oil refineries. The control program, operated by the Union, includes preparation of personal directions for the prevention of pollution under the Abatement of Nuisances Law and operation of an intermittent control system enabling a switch to low sulfur oil whenever atmospheric conditions likely to hamper pollutant dispersion arise. The use of an intermittent control system in conjunction with a broad and sophisticated monitoring network is required in the vicinity of major pollutant sources in Haifa, Ashdod and Tel Aviv.

In the vicinity of the Hadera power plant, activated by low sulfur coal, no violations of standards established within the framework of permit conditions were recorded. In the Ashdod region, residents continued to complain over acid soot fallout nuisances. To help solve the problem, the EPS engaged the services of overseas experts who helped pinpoint the causes of the problem and recommended corrective action. Their recommendations were adopted by the IEC.

In 1982 a Quality Assurance and Control Program was implemented within the framework of the national monitoring network. The program is meant to ensure the reliability and quality of the data obtained from the network.

An expert committee charged with updating air quality standards was appointed. The committee will review existing ambient standards, many published in 1971, and present its recommendations for amendments based on updated information.

Recognition of the impact of oil refineries on air quality has resulted in publication of an "Air Pollution Inspector's Guide for Oil Refineries". The handbook serves as a useful aid to control authorities in understanding refining processes and recognizing potential factors which may lead to environmental nuisances.

A survey to determine vehicular emission factors continued. The survey will enable assessment of pollutant quantities emitted from a vehicle in typical Israeli driving conditions. Thus far, data were collected on characteristics of the driving cycle and on emission levels.

Regulations for the abatement of nuisances (air pollution from premises) define unreasonable air pollution as the emission of black smoke into the public domain. Measurement of the color grade of the smoke is executed by means of a micro-Ringelmann chart. The EPS has prepared such charts along with usage instructions. These have been distributed to bodies responsible for supervision and enforcement of environmental legislation.

#### Water Quality



Potable water quality in local authorities in Israel is monitored annually by the Ministry of Health. The 1982 report on microbiological testing of drinking water prepared by the Department of Environmental Health provides the following information.

Some 36,000 water quality tests were performed as part of a national program of water quality monitoring. The highest number of violations of water quality standards (over 10 coli bacteria in 100 ml. of water or the presence of faecal coli bacteria) was recorded in the northern district (10.3%). In this region water supply originates, in many cases, in surface waters which are frequently polluted at source. The lowest

percentage of violations was noted in the Tel Aviv and southern district (1.3%). The report notes a decrease in violations in recent years. 3.7% in 1982 as opposed to 6.9% in 1979.

The Ministry of Health has established an annual water quality monitoring program to enable local authorities, the country's major water suppliers, to test water quality in accordance with legislative requirements. In 1982 local authorities carried out 78% of the water monitoring program. The Health Ministry is currently examining ways of implementing the program in full.

Still needed is a comprehensive national policy meant to ensure the supply of potable water of good quality to the entire population. Such a policy must be based on updated standards for potable water, a monitoring and control program to ensure sound water quality at source and along transport and supply routes, broad legislation on water quality covering operation and maintenance of water supply systems, increased training, and prevention of

chemical or pesticide penetration into the potable water system.

A committee to establish a comprehensive policy for the Kinneret drainage basin and the National Water Carrier published its findings on the status of the basin and the impact of activities in the region on water quality. Its report observes the following:

- 1) The Kinneret can continue to serve as the country's major source of drinking water via the National Water Carrier.
- 2) No significant changes are required in water treatment methods at the National Water Carrier, but in case of need, existing methods should be improved (i.e. introduction of chlore dioxide).
- 3) Only 40% of the water of the National Carrier is supplied to local authorities for potable and industrial use. If it is decided to make water quality compatible with stricter international standards, this should be done within the framework of municipal water systems.

## Seas and Shores

As in previous years, activities in the realm of marine pollution were broadened and new initiatives were taken. These will be surveyed in detail in the eleventh edition of the annual report.

In 1982, intermediate results of a study on mercury pollution in Haifa Bay were published. Within the framework of the survey, sediments and benthic organisms were collected and analyzed for the following purposes:

- 1) evaluation of the current status of mercury pollution in Haifa Bay;
- 2) detection of sources of pollution;
- 3) discovery of specific biological indicators which may be used for future routine monitoring of the bay.

Survey results reveal that, in varying degrees, essentially the entire shallow water zone of Haifa Bay is polluted by mercury. Pollution originates in the industrial sewage of the electrochemical plants in the vicinity of Acre.

With the exception of the *Adorex ruber*, mercury concentrations in fish are below the standard for edible fish established by the Ministry of Health. In view of the good results obtained in 1982, it may be advisable to review the 1979 decision to ban marketing of the *Diplodus sargus* fish because of high mercury concentrations exceeding the standard.

It may be assumed that the level of mercury in sediments of Haifa Bay is largely the result of the discharge of industrial effluent from the period preceding the installation of sewage treatment facilities in the electrochemical plants. The polluted sediments may constitute a secondary pollution source to the food chain ending in edible fish.

### Noise



In 1982, work on the national masterplan for airports was renewed. The Airport Authority presented the steering committee with a masterplan covering the existing airport system and based upon four levels of planning: infrastructure, regional distribution, agricultural flights, and future options.

The annual report surveys the environmental impact of the plan for each of the following airports: Eilat, Haifa, Herzlia, Sde Dov, and 'Atarot' in Jerusalem. The masterplan for Sde Dov airport in Tel Aviv will necessitate the preparation of noise maps, and drafting building restrictions based on the results of the noise map. Noise measurements conducted in the Sde Dov airport in 1982 are enabling assessment of noise nuisances forecasted for the future.

Noise measurements of military aircraft for the purpose of assessing noise levels characteristic of some aircraft used by the Israel Air Force continued. For validation purposes, these noise measurements were compared to noise assessment data in the Noise Map computer program of the EPS. It was generally found that a good correlation exists between the model and the actual noise levels measured in the field. It is recommended that the Noise Map model continue to be used for the assessment of noise about military airfields.

A new approach, based on community reaction to aircraft noise rather than individual response, was taken by the EPS in a socio-acoustic survey completed in 1982. The survey encompassed some twenty small communities in the environs of Ben Gurion Airport which are exposed to noise levels exceeding 25 NEF. It was found that community action is dependent to a large extent on the dynamics of community life, especially the presence of strong leadership ready to accept the challenge of airport noise as an issue upon which to act.

The relationship between aircraft noise and anxiety, aggression, and behavioral control was analyzed within the framework of a study prepared for the EPS by staff of the Psychology Department of Bar Ilan University. Results did not support the hypothesis that as noise exposure increased, the respondents' grades in the anxiety and behavioral control tests will rise while grades in the aggression test will be lower.

Following the transfer of authority for the Law for the Abatement of Nuisances to the Ministry of the Interior, legislative possibilities are being reviewed and consolidated in such realms as vehicle and aircraft decibel standards, noise emission standards for vehicles and construction

equipment, Noise Exposure Forecasts (NEF) for aircraft, unreasonable noise, noise from roads and airports, prohibitions on noise generation, alarm systems, acoustic treatment, guidelines for land uses, and a model by law. To advance its legislative work in all the above realms, the FPS appointed an advisory committee charged with consolidating proposals for legislation.

The FPS is currently consolidating a comprehensive system of solutions for the abatement of noise in locations exposed to aircraft noise. Policy relates to land-use restrictions as well as restrictions on the agents of noise sources.

### Solid Waste



Completion of the national masterplan for the disposal of solid waste was a major issue in 1982. A sub committee of the National Board for Planning and Building reviewed comments received from district planning committees and raised new proposals for additional or alternative waste disposal sites. The masterplan was presented to the National Board for Planning and Building in the summer of 1983.

The Ministry of the Interior transferred both financial and professional aid to local authorities for establishment of regional waste disposal sites based on the sanitary landfill method and for closure of unauthorized existing dumps. Waste disposal sites are established in accordance with environmental criteria meant to prevent such nuisances as groundwater pollution, fires, aesthetic nuisances and stench. To increase the economic and functional efficiency of the collection system, transfer stations have been established in some service areas to enable transport by containers to a central station rather than usage of municipal vehicles.

By April 1983, waste disposal was regularized in 46 municipalities and local councils and in 20 regional authorities while 18 regional disposal sites and 3 transfer stations were established.

A project directorate to coordinate policy on Israel's first industrial treatment plant for the waste of the Dan (Tel Aviv) region was appointed. The directorate will choose the preferred treatment technology, prepare economic calculations, draft a timetable for implementation, and establish working procedures. One decision already taken was that the proposed international tender for establishment of a treatment facility will be based on a recycling method. It was also decided that the range of outputs of the first modular demonstration facility will be 300-400 tons per day.

Concurrently with preparation of specifications for the international tender, two surveys were undertaken: survey of the cost of an alternative project for disposal of solid waste of the Dan region in Beit Guvrin and review of the composition of Israeli waste so as to confirm forecasts made seven years ago. Results of both surveys will have important implications in the decision making process.

The semi industrial plant for the extraction of steel and tin from tin cans separated from domestic waste was completed. Technological and economic data on production processes are being collected to help assess the feasibility of establishing an industrial plant.

### Energy and the Environment



Two units of the Hadera power plant operated in 1982 at a maximal capacity of 700 megawatts. By April 1983, 895,000 tons of coal, with a 1.2% sulfur content, were burned in the plant. No violations of standards established in the "plan for the prevention of environmental nuisances" were recorded in the monitoring network around the power complex. In November 1982 the Israel Cabinet approved the national masterplan for a power plant at a southern site. The coal-fired power plant, composed of two units of 550 megawatts each, will be constructed at the site of the Eilat Ashkelon Pipeline, south of Ashkelon.



Recycling of coal ash for reasons of resource conservation, economic efficiency, and environmental protection is an accepted principle in Israel. The Israel Electric Corporation (IEC) is responsible for the disposal of ash from Hadera while the Coal Company, supplier of coal to industry, is to be responsible for ash disposal in industrial plants which will convert to coal use. Today, the only approved site for ash disposal is in Hadera, but an IEC plan to transfer ash out of Hadera for industrial use was approved by the Hadera plant supervisory committee, following consultations with the professional committee.

An expert committee on ash disposal sites was appointed by the Ministry of Energy. The committee will consolidate criteria and recommendations for ash collection sites while considering disposal methods.

The EPS and Ministry of Energy support, in principle, the conversion of plants to coal use in accordance with strict conditions. It is expected that the majority of coal in Israel will be used for firing power plants, with only a small portion going to industry. While several plants considered the feasibility of conversion to coal, only the Nesher cement plant in Ramle is undergoing conversion processes. Among smaller plants, the Argaman textile concern in Yavne underwent licensing procedures for coal conversion.

To study the coal unloading question, the Ministers of Transport and Energy appointed an interministerial committee to review coal unloading and transport options in Israel for the long term. An intermediate report of the committee recommends the expansion of Ashdod port to supply the needs of the year 2000 and beyond. For the intermediate period, additional alternatives based on existing piers and facilities are being checked.

In the period surveyed, the Ministry of Energy applied for permission to remove coal from Hadera Port for usage in industrial plants in accordance with recommendations of the Coal Forum. An EIS to assess the impact of coal transport on environmental quality was prepared. It concluded that coal transport in appropriate vehicles will not lead to significant pollution.

## Legislation



The Law for the Abatement of Environmental Nuisances, 1961, is the major legislative tool for prevention of air, noise and stench pollution. In May 1982 the Knesset approved a cabinet decision to transfer authority for implementation of the Law to the Minister of the Interior. Following the transfer, the EPS prepared an amendment to the law meant to correct deficiencies and enable its effective implementation. The proposal was distributed for comment among government offices. Regulations under the law preventing air pollution from vehicles were signed by the Minister of the Interior in December 1982, but have not been published.

During the period surveyed, steps were taken to establish legal norms for the abatement of noise from various sources. Within this framework, solutions to the following noise nuisances may be found: vehicle noise, airport and aircraft noise, and various types of equipment noise (alarm systems, air conditioners). Regulations on vehicle noise are currently under deliberation by the Ministries of the Interior and of Transport.

Preparation of draft legislation on the prevention of marine pollution by dumping was completed.

Fines imposed on violators of marine protection laws were raised and regulations calling for the imposition of a marine environmental protection fee on vessels and installations handling oil was approved.

In 1982, several local authorities approved by-laws for the prevention of noise, outstanding among which was the Tel Aviv-Jaffa By-Law (Prevention of Noise), 1982. In addition to general directions, the law contains special directions for the abatement of noise generated by alarm systems in businesses.

The model by-law for the discharge of industrial sewage into the sewage system, 1981, was adopted by twelve local authorities in the course of 1982.



### **Education, Information and Public Participation**

Educational activities on the local level, initiated by schools, the Ministry of Education, public organizations and environmental units in local authorities, have been broadened. The work being implemented today will form the basis for community activity on behalf of the environment in the future.

Centers for environmental education established within the framework of environmental units in local authorities play a central role in the implementation of environmental education policy. In 1982 such educational centers operated in Haifa, Hadera, Ashdod, and Ashkelon. Plans for additional centers were drafted for the Western Galilee, Netanya, Ramat Gan, Rehovot and Eilat.

The Ministry of Education approved a curriculum of environmental studies for high school matriculation examinations. The program, in which learning proceeds by means of scenarios (analysis and assessment of local environmental events and participation in local projects) will be developed by a staff of teachers through the Open University.

The Institute for Teaching Aids in cooperation with the EPS completed an educational program on the built environment, known as "Environments." This junior high school program utilizes teaching aids, activities and games, and a set of posters. In elementary school, environmental programs are being integrated into geography, biology and agriculture courses and into practical activities such as care of buildings and yards. A successful three year environmental education project in Herzlia schools may serve as a model for educational programs in other schools.

Activities revolving about the theme of quality of life and the environment are incorporated in kindergarten programs and kindergarten teachers participate in special training courses on the subject.

In pedagogical centers, guidance material, teaching aids and environmental exhibits are featured.

The EPS completed the production of another environmental film for elementary school students. The film deals with the issue of noise and includes information on sound waves, the ear structure, factors leading to noise nuisances, and the individual as a generator of noise. The film was distributed to pedagogical centers. A teacher guide book to accompany the film is under preparation.

### **Environmental Planning**

The growing number of environmental deliberations in planning bodies and the increase in decisions expressing environmental policy attest to the continual strengthening of the link between planning and environmental protection. Progress in the incorporation of environmental considerations into the planning process is particularly evident on the district and national levels of planning. On the local level, improvements are still required.

The tenth annual report covers environmental considerations of development in territorial waters, development in urban areas, planning policy around airports, development in Judea and Samaria, as well as a preliminary assessment of experience gained in operating an environmental impact statement system in Israel.

Fifteen plans for the construction of jetties are currently in preparation in Israel. Plans for five jetties, for 100 or more anchoring places each, were presented to the Territorial Waters Committee for deliberation in 1982. Plans for jetties in Nahariya, Caesaria, Herzlia, and

Ashdod were presented as well as a breakwater plan for Ashkelon.

The second part of the National Masterplan for Coasts is under preparation by the Ports Authority in cooperation with the EPS. The plan, which will include directions for the prevention of environmental nuisances, will provide a statutory framework within which land uses around seaports will be approved.

Portions of the coastal cliff along the Mediterranean coastline are in danger of collapse as a result of marine and land factors. Local authorities within whose boundaries such endangered sections exist must issue directions for ensuring cliff stability within the framework of local plans.

Urban planning problems are presented in the report through a general survey of environmental planning in Jerusalem. Among planning issues described are a plan for a sport stadium in the neighborhood of Katamon, intrusion of industry into residential areas, transport problems, and a survey of means undertaken to improve the aesthetic appearance of the city center.

The planning and implementation process for the reclamation of sixteen quarries continued in 1982.

In the realm of nature and landscape protection, care of existing nature reserves was broadened while the declaration process for new reserves was advanced. A number of bodies including the NRA, SPNI, and the Jewish National Fund carried out development and control activities meant to protect nature values. Approximately 4900 hectares of new forests were planted.

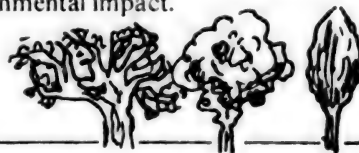
### **Environmental Impact Statements (EIS)**

The ever increasing number of calls for submission of EIS by planning authorities attests to the importance of this tool as a means of incorporating the environmental element in planning and decision making processes. In light of the efficacy of the statement as a planning tool, a trend has been noted whereby it is used in cases not specified in the EIS regulations. Based on accumulated experience, it may be established that the EIS regulations are well integrated with the planning and administrative system.

To make the system even more efficient, the following are still required: decrease in the time period required for preparation and review of

the EIS, collection and concentration of locally available data on emission factors and pollutant impact, collection and organization of data required for EIS preparation in one central library, and development of procedures of cooperation and exchange of information between preparers of the EIS and the planning authorities.

To implement the above it will be necessary to develop a computerized data base serving the requirements of EIS preparers, reviewers and of planners in general. Also essential is the development of models in various realms (i.e. ecology, air pollution from industry and vehicles) to enable forecast and assessment of potential environmental impact.



### **Local Authorities and Environmental Quality**

Environmental units in local authorities are meant to improve and expand the environmental services offered the citizen by the Ministry of the Interior. Close cooperation between personnel in the field and the professional staff at the EPS enables local environmental units to implement programs in the realms of air quality, noise abatement, sewage treatment, education and information, EIS and advice to planning bodies, and to a more limited degree, control over polluting industries.

In 1982, 11 units employing 48 operated in eight municipalities and in three Associations of Local Authorities. New units are currently being established in the Western Galilee Association of Local Authorities for Environmental Protection, and in the municipalities of Herzlia, Rehovot and Rishon Le Zion.

A budgetary framework for financing special environmental projects in local authorities has been set up by the local government center and the EPS. Funds are used for purchase of air monitoring equipment, clean-up of solid waste from public areas, construction of services in

camping and parking sites, purchase of equipment for sewage systems, and gardening and park cultivation and maintenance.

In 1982 environmental advisers to district planning and building commissions worked in four districts providing guidance, advice and supervision.

Still missing are data banks on pollutants and their projected impacts. In 1982 local authorities were unable to accurately assess the level of environmental quality in their region due to the absence of objective assessment tools which would enable identification of environmental goals and would guide the allocation of appropriate resources.

### **Public Expenditure on Environmental Protection**

Following a decrease of 2-3% in public expenditure on environmental protection in 1979-1981, real expenditures increased at a rate of 4% in 1981-2.

Approximately half of the total expenditure is directed toward pollution prevention, a third toward nature protection and the balance toward environmental control. Approximately two-thirds of the total accounts for current expenses with the balance accounting for investments in structures, facilities, equipment and vehicles. Salaries account for two thirds of current expenditure.

The majority of environmental activity, in terms of expenditure, is implemented by local authorities, but their part in expenditures is decreasing (from 80% in 1977-8 to 74% in 1981-2). Over the same period, a relative increase was noted in government activity (from 12% to 14%) and in activities of non-profit organizations (from 8% to 12%).

The limited resources directed toward environmental protection will be allocated more efficiently if allocation procedures are accompanied by analysis of the various components of the national expenditure, with special reference to their relative contribution.

### **Hazardous Waste**



It is estimated that between 15,000-20,000 tons of hazardous wastes are produced in Israel annually, and the country must be prepared to treat some 20,000-25,000 tons per year, in the coming five years.

The multitude of offices handling the subject has led to lack of central control, publication of contradictory regulations and to inadequate law enforcement. The EPS has been studying the subject over the past several years and is actively involved in the reestablishment of the Ramat Hovav site, in risk assessment of hazardous waste, in a study of treatment methods, in preparation of a national survey of the types of hazardous waste, their generation and disposal, in presentation of guidelines to industrial plants on the handling of hazardous waste prior to the treatment stage, in organizing local environmental units to handle the subject, and in interministerial coordination for the purpose of establishing a uniform, efficient and safe national system for the treatment of hazardous waste.

### **International Activities**

Israel's international activities in the realm of environmental protection were largely implemented within the framework of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and within the Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP) specifically.

In 1982 a monitoring agreement between Israel and MAP was signed within the framework of the second phase of MED POL, the monitoring and research component of the Mediterranean plan. In May 1982 Israel took part in the Session of a Special Character of UNEP's Governing Council. The special session, marking the tenth anniversary of the Stockholm Conference, adopted the Nairobi Declaration which calls upon the world community to renew its commitment to environmental protection.

Information on Israel's activities in the realm of environmental protection is distributed by means of publications reaching 1600 subscribers throughout the world.

ISRAEL

WEST BANK ROAD CONTROVERSY DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English 26 Dec 84-1 Jan 85 p 5

[Article by Jerry Cheslow]

[Text]

A master plan now under consideration may give the West Bank one of the most efficient road systems in the world. But the local Arabs claim it will kill their economic enterprises that might have benefitted from it.

Road Plan 50, released for consideration in February, provides for four types of roads — highways, main, regional and local roads. The widest would be 120-meter highways. A 150-meter strip on each side would be kept free of buildings. The system would include beltways around major towns, improvement of existing north-south roads and construction of east-west roads.

West Bank Arabs have filed over 1,000 objections. They claim that the current road system is adequate for Palestinian needs and that new roads would benefit Jewish settlers, while stifling Palestinian development.

At the end of the prescribed period for presenting objections, a committee of Palestinian lawyers, businessmen, farmers and economists held a news conference in east Jerusalem. It produced studies to show that the plan would take 46,000 dunams of land for paving 555 kilometers of road and another 78,000 dunams for shoulders. According to the committee, the plan

would use more land than the total area of Jewish settlement in the West Bank, which is estimated at 88,000 dunams.

The committee reports put the cost of the project at \$370 million, expressing skepticism that it would, in fact, be carried out. It concluded that the motive behind the plan was to gain control over as much land as possible. At the same time, it would provide east-west access roads improving links between the Jewish settlements and the Israeli road system.

"I can't understand why they need roads 120 meters wide," said Dr. Hisham Awartani, a farmer and economics lecturer at Najah University in Nablus. "That's wider than the road from San Francisco to Los Angeles. It's a road for 30 cars. The land will be expropriated as public domain, whether or not the road is eventually built. It will mean the demolishing of refugee camps [along the route] and the neutralizing of economic activity and construction [by Palestinians]."

Awartani maintains that the limits on construction on both sides of the road will change socioeconomic patterns, under which Palestinian communities and small businesses traditionally grew up along major arteries.

"The road plan will be a disaster for agriculture," claimed dairy farmer Amid Masri, reporting on a study of just 40 kilometers of the road. "It will cover and destroy the Ghor Far's Irrigation Canal [alongside existing roads in the Jordan Valley], which carries 15 million cubic meters of water to [Palestinian] farmers per year. It would take 15

artesian wells, 3,500 dunams of vegetable farms, 1,200 dunams of orchards and 1,100 dunams of grain fields."

Spokeswoman for the civil administration Elise Shazar says the road plan is not final. "The committee which will study the objections can move routes in any direction," she said. "The final roads may be far narrower than originally envisaged. There are no plans to knock down refugee camps and, where possible, the routes will go through state lands to avoid expropriation."

She denies that the roads will serve mainly Jewish settlers. "The roads do not take into account the locations of Jewish settlements, just the topographical and geographical conditions. As for the claim that the current road system is adequate, it was built by the British 40 years ago when there were far fewer cars on the roads."

The committee's lawyer, Aziz Shehadeh of Ramalla, has already taken the claim to the Israeli High Court of Justice. It was rejected on the grounds that the road system would serve the entire population.

Shehadeh still maintains that the plan violates Jordanian and international laws which are applied in the West Bank. "The Jordanian Regional Planning Law does not provide for a road master plan," said Shehadeh. "And all regional plans require local participation. We were only consulted after the plan was complete . . . As for international law, it states that an occupying power may make changes for the security of its armed forces or for the good of the local population. Neither condition applies."

Shehadeh says the committee will take the case to the World Court at the Hague. Since only states can apply directly to the court, he has called on the United Nations General Assembly to pass a resolution calling on the court to give an advisory opinion on the Israeli court ruling.

In the meantime the committee has appealed to Prime Minister Shimon Peres to kill the road plan. Awartani noted that the plan was a heritage from the Likud government. He called on the prime minister to dissociate himself from it. Awartani, who visited Amman last month, then delivered a warning. "The Jordanian administration views the proposed plan with utmost concern. When Peres is laboring hard to lure King Hussein [to peace talks], the plan could not have come at a worse time. But it is an acid test of the government's intentions. We hope Peres will pass the test."

[1]

ISRAEL

AL-QAWASIMI'S BACKGROUND VIS-A-VIS HEBRON, PLO EXPLORED

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English 2-8 Jan 85 pp 3-4

[Article by Jerry Cheslow]

[Text]

**T**he West Bank held its breath this weekend, awaiting an Israeli government decision on whether Fahd Kawasme's remains would be allowed back from Amman for burial. The moment the news reached Hebron that the town's deported former mayor had been assassinated, his brother Fayez applied to the Israeli Civil Administration for a permit to go to the Jordanian capital

to bring back the body. By Monday morning, the Defense Ministry had only given permission for a delegation from Hebron to go to Amman to attend Kawasme's funeral. Within the delegation of several hundred was Mustafa Natshe, who had succeeded Kawasme as mayor and similarly been deposed by Israeli authorities.

"Fahd Kawasme was loved by the people of Hebron," declared Natshe. "Kawasme had been a good mayor, efficient in paving roads and bringing running water. Ever more important, he was a source of pride for the town after his deportation."

When he was gunned down in Amman, Kawasme was just taking over the highest Palestine Liberation Organization position ever held by a West Banker. Last month's Palestine National Council meeting in the Jordanian capital appointed Kawasme to the PLO executive committee and gave him the prestigious portfolio for the "Occupied Lands."

Throughout his political career, the short, bespectacled 45-year-old civil engineer from Hebron seemed to have power thrust upon him and was never really comfortable with it. He won the mayoral post by default in 1976. Communist leader Dr. Ahmed Hamzi Natshe was deported at the height of his campaign to unseat one of the longest serving mayors on the West Bank, Mohammed Ali Ja'abari. Kawasme was then pushed to the head of Dr. Natshe's party list. He got not only Natshe's wide-ranging support but also the support of the Kawasme clan, which numbers

close to 10,000 in Hebron.

During his first two years in office, Kawasme was known as a moderate, almost a disciple of his friend, Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij. As unrest swept the West Bank in 1978, Kawasme was carried along with it and joined the radical Palestinian National Guidance Committee, which also included Mayors Bassam Shaka of Nablus, Karim Khallaf of Ramallah and Ibrahim Tawil of El Bira.

Kawasme's Achilles' heel was settlement. To a great degree, he blamed himself for Jewish settlement in Hebron. It started at Kawasme's Park Hotel, at the entrance to the town. Rabbi Moshe Levinger and a small group of followers had booked rooms at the Park for the Passover Seder in 1968. They refused to leave until the government agreed to build Kiryat Arba, overlooking Hebron.



The same hotel is now packed with mourners. A huge portrait of Kawasme hangs in the foyer. Hundreds of Hebronites, people from other areas of the West Bank and Israelis are filing in to pay their respects to Kawasme's family.

In March 1980, Kawasme made the mistake that caused his deportation. The Israeli government had decided to allow Jewish settlement in the heart of Hebron. Kawasme called a rally to declare a general strike in his town and a boycott of the Jewish settlers from neighboring Kiryat Arba. "Just as the British Empire and the Nazis collapsed," Kawasme fumed, "the Jews will also vanish from the area."

Two months later, six Jewish settlers were shot dead outside Beit Hadassah,

the first building where Jews were allowed to settle inside the city. Kawasme was deported because he allegedly helped create an atmosphere of incitement against settlers in Hebron.

Many Israeli leaders were clearly uncomfortable with the deportation, among them Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, then the West Bank's military governor and now a Knesset member. "Deep down, Kawasme was a moderate who believed in dialogue with Israel," said Ben-Eliezer. "But he didn't have the courage of his convictions. We were friends . . . We spoke many times. I told him that if he didn't express himself, history would not forgive him and the assassin's bullet would catch up with him."

Until last month's PNC session in Amman, Kawasme did not accept an official PLO post. Instead, he continued his efforts to return to Hebron. Kawas-

me appealed to the Israeli High Court of Justice and the United Nations. At the same time, his brother Fayez made numerous applications to the Israeli authorities and Kawasme often phoned Ben-Eliezer, who had since risen to the post of government coordinator for the territories, the highest position dealing with the administered areas short of defense minister.

"His requests to return were considered several times," said one top Defense Ministry official who refused to be quoted by name. "But for all Kawasme's moderate statements made to the Western press, he made an equal number of radical statements to Arab audiences. For instance, in late 1980 he returned to Amman from a tour of the Western world, where he displayed an image of moderation to pressure Israel to allow him back into the West Bank. Then he spoke to university students, calling for open revolt in the territories. He said 'our children's stones are more powerful than all of the guns of the Arab world.'"

Many Israelis, including Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman, who, as defense minister, took the decision to deport Kawasme, called for the return of Kawasme's remains for burial in Hebron. Other Israeli leaders, such as Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir saw the murder as a warning to King Hussein. "Fahd Kawasme's murder is another proof of the continued, futile, bloody struggle between the terror organizations," said Shamir. "Anyone following their path will achieve nothing. By allowing the PNC to meet in Amman [last month], Hussein only endangered his own throne."

For Hebron, Kawasme is a Palestinian martyr, assassinated by Syrian agents in an attempt to scuttle the peace process. "We think [PLO chief] Yasser Arafat chose Kawasme for his position as a sign that he wanted negotiations with Israel," said one Hebronite who refused to give his name. "Kawasme was a moderate who believed in a Palestinian state and peaceful coexistence with Israel. He also had wide-ranging connections with Israeli leaders, which would have made him an ideal candidate to head a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to negotiations with Israel. That's why he was killed. But it won't help his assassins. There will be many more Fahd Kawasmes."

West Bank leaders from the most radical — deposed Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka — to the most moderate — Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij — have condemned the assassination. For the



past 50 years, we Palestinians have suffered from political assassinations," Freij said. He also maintains that Kawasme's body should have been allowed to return. "Now Kawasme is dead. He is a son of Hebron with a right to be buried in his home town. Allowing the funeral in Hebron would be a great gesture toward the Palestinians and the West Bank."

After long deliberations the Israeli government decided not to allow the funeral to be held in Hebron. On one hand, Peres had declared a willingness to ease conditions for the residents of the West Bank. On the other, Israel has never allowed a member of the PLO executive committee to be buried on the West Bank. The authorities believed the funeral might spark off anti-Israel demonstrations and that the grave could have become a pilgrimage site for Israel's enemies on the West Bank. □

CSO: 4400/75

ISRAEL

KAHANE INTERVIEWED ON REACTION TO RESTRICTIONS

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English 2-8 Jan 85 p 9

[Interview of The Kahane Mutiny]

[Text]

*"I want power, because without power, I can't do what I want"*

**I**t was a busy week for Rabbi Meir Kahane. The controversial Knesset member had his immunity curtailed in an effort to prevent his fractious visits to Arab villages. The day after the Knesset vote, he set out to test the ruling by visiting the Arab village of Taibe but was turned back by police. Later, he tried to celebrate Fahd Kawasme's death (see pages 2-4) at the Patriarch's Caves in Hebron. Ignoring security forces' requests that he leave the city, Kahane locked himself in his car. Police forcibly extricated him from the vehicle and escorted him to Jerusalem where he was released. Newsview's Jerry Cheslow spoke to Kahane about his curtailed immunity and what he plans to do about it.

**Newsview:** *You were stopped on the way to Taibe in the first test . . . of the limitation of your immunity.*

**Kahane:** I don't understand the difference between what happened on the way to Taibe and what happened when I tried to reach Umm al Fahm [sparking off violent demonstrations in September]. I roused the Arabs and the leftists and brought the news media out. The police didn't allow me through in either case.

**Newsview:** *But you didn't achieve your goal of reaching Taibe.*

**Kahane:** I'm no fool. I knew the police would not allow me in. I achieved exactly what I wanted, a million dollars worth of [news] coverage. A million Jews in this country are furious because Tewfik Toubi [Communist MK] can travel this country freely and Meir Kahane can't. I want power, because without power, I can't do what I want.

**Newsview:** *This week you became the first Knesset member to have his parliamentary freedom of movement curtailed.*

**Kahane:** I'm convinced that behind it was a really deep-rooted fear on the part of the Left and even the Right. Should the economy continue to fail, which, unfortunately it will, and should unemployment increase among Jews, I will get more seats in the coming election than my worst enemies fear.

**Newsview:** *On what grounds do you intend to fight the limitation of your immunity?*

**Kahane:** We [Kahane's Kach movement] are going to the High Court. By its own rules the Knesset has no right to limit immunity partially. Furthermore, it cannot take away immunity from just one member unless a crime has been committed. Now in general, I feel discriminated against in the Knesset and have filed a suit in the High Court of Justice. Speaker Shlomo Hillel has arbitrarily struck down every bill Kach has tried to table and he is supposed to be neutral.

**Newsview:** *It's just a matter of time until the Knesset passes a law against racism and that law will be directed against you.*

**Kahane:** I will vote for any bill against racism, since I am against racism. But I don't envy the people who propose that motion. The question that will have to be decided is, what is racism? I'll bring 500 quotes from Jewish sources and the Knesset will have to face up to the question of whether Judaism itself is racist.

**Newsview:** *In your opinion, is it?*

**Kahane:** No, but it is not Western. Judaism differentiates between Jews and non-Jews but that's not racist. Racism is when I say that you are permanently an inferior person. Judaism has always clarified that we are the chosen people. But any non-Jew who wants can become Jewish. There is a legal difference between Jews and non-Jews. And, my God, I'll bring countless sources to prove that. If they want to wash their linen in public, that's fine.

They will be serving my aims, helping to prove that my program is Judaism.

**Newsview:** *Other Knesset members claim your program is one of hate.*

**Kahane:** I've always said that people who can't debate will defame. There is not one person there who is willing to debate me . . . Just don't call me names. It adds nothing and doesn't bother me anyway.

**Newsview:** *One of your supporters is in jail in Jerusalem for firing a grenade into an Arab bus. Don't you think this is a result of your type of philosophy?*

**Kahane:** Who says that's wrong? I'm not saying whether that's right or wrong. Right outside this city, there's a settlement called Ramat Razei. It's named after a man who, in the 1930s, placed bombs in Arab market places. Hundreds of Arabs were killed. He was a hero.

**Newsview:** *Then there was no state.*

**Kahane:** There is not one Arab who would not rather live here in a state called Palestine rather than in Israel. So I consider them [the Arabs] enemies.

CSO: 4400/75

ISRAEL

PHENOMENON OF RETURN TO ORTHODOXY EXAMINED

Tel Aviv NEWSVIEW in English 2-8 Jan 85 pp 14-18

[Article by Mordehai Beck]

[Text]

Two events in the 1960s triggered a minor revolution. The Six Day War caused a sudden identification of young Diaspora Jews with Israel and their own Jewishness. The threat of the Jewish state's annihilation, the undertone of the Holocaust, the capture of the Western Wall and the support and sympathy of the world for Israel's victory created an upsurge of Jewish consciousness, especially in the young.

America's war in Vietnam simultaneously generated scorn for the state and crises of identity, resulting in counter-culture and a reverence for ethnic uniqueness. The cry of American youth for a return to roots was problematic for American Jews. The previous generation had been concerned with integration; the roots of American Jewry were dead and buried in Europe.

After the Six Day War, curiosity or euphoria brought many of these young Jews to Israel. Some were on their way to India or the Far East in a search for mysticism and religious experience. Their questions of purpose, identity and meaning could not be answered by the traditional Orthodox community.

Traditional yeshivas did not (and still do not) have the facilities to teach the mature beginner. Their students begin with a history of religious education. More important, in a traditional yeshiva, understanding concepts of God and Judaism are assumed.

In 1967, Rabbi Mordehai Goldstein opened Har Zion Yeshiva. The fact that the institution became populated by secular Jews in search of their Jewish-

ness is said to be accidental. However, students looking for religiosity found their way to Har Zion and that yeshiva became the first of many places of learning catering to Jews with no or little knowledge of Judaism.

Such institutions are called *ba'al teshuva* yeshivas — yeshivas for those who have returned, or repented. The students who come to live a religious Jewish life are known as *ba'alei teshuva*.

Unlike many of the self-searching phenomena of the 1960s, this movement has become permanent, mainly because of the establishment of dozens of institutions similar to Har Zion.

The yeshivas catering to the non-Israeli secular Jew encountered great difficulties at their outset.

At first, the *ba'al teshuva* world was received with hostility by the traditionally Orthodox. There is an enormous difference in the two styles of Judaism. *Ba'alei teshuva* dress differently, combining the appearance of the Orthodox Jew with the accessories of hippiedom. Many come from Western, liberal backgrounds. The traditionally Catholic world is steeped in its traditions; after almost two decades, the *ba'al teshuva* community has some traditions of its own.

Traditional yeshivas mistrusted the religious credentials of the newly Orthodox and expected commandments to be carried out inaccurately. Above all, in the early days, the first *ba'al teshuva* institutions were seen as dens of iniquity. There were many accusations of drug abuse, compounded by the local press. The students were seen as hippies, oddities.

*"An Israeli artist became religious. His yeshiva told him that art is a waste of time, Torah would provide him with everything. After six months he began to get depressed. He became suicidal and tried to kill his wife. When he was sent to me I sent him straight back to his studio, explaining to him that art and Judaism are complementary. Today he studies half day and is painting better than ever before. This is a very common story among ba'alei teshuva. It is very dangerous to negate your past in order to become observant. The changes must be integrated with the needs of your personality."*

Rabbi Haim Lifschitz, Sadat Enosh

The fear of producing misfits was expressed early on by members of both the yeshivas and the Orthodox community who were afraid that these Western-born students would be alienated from both their secular past and their Orthodox present. Rabbi Haim Lifschitz, a psychologist who runs Sadat Enosh, a counseling service for ba'alei teshuva, has had occasion to counsel thousands of returnees and concurs that "the process of becoming Orthodox is long and subtle. The Torah community is very aware of this and if it has accepted ba'alei teshuva it is only on a superficial level."

Rabbi Mendel Weinbach of Ohr Semayah, the largest yeshiva for the newly Orthodox, sees the reaction differently: "Not only has the Torah community accepted the ba'alei teshuva, they've also seen in them models for the observance of commandments and sincerity at prayer and study. In some cases this has made the easy going 'frum-from-birth' [Orthodox] Jews ill at ease, because their own laxity is challenged."

The lack of respectability also caused difficulties with financing. Initially, the yeshivas were funded only by private donations. Some American students came from wealthy families but all the yeshivas began with nothing.

In the 1970s ba'al teshuva yeshivas began to receive state support. Today, the local municipalities, the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Education Ministry all contribute toward the upkeep of the institutions. The Student Authority of the Jewish Agency now supports foreign Jews studying in these yeshivas as it supports those studying at Israeli universities; it pays tuition fees and gives a housing grant. Much of the funding is still supplied by private donations. There are formal fees for students, the amount varying from one yeshiva to another. However, no one is turned away.

State support points to the degree of acceptability and respectability these yeshivas have attained. A number of American universities give credits for a year's study abroad at a ba'al teshuva yeshiva. However, as one ba'al teshuva head says, a yeshiva which is not bankrupt is not a yeshiva.

It is quite usual for students to stay on for two, three or more years at their yeshiva and an increasing number ultimately more on to a traditional place such as Mir or Hevron. But their influ-

ence has not stopped at traditionally Orthodox yeshivas.

*"We've been labeled anti-Zionists, but by whose definition? Recent research done by the kibbutz movements shows that 40 percent and more of their own youth consider themselves either non-Zionists or anti-Zionists."*

*Emotionally we're with Gush Emunim [West Bank settlers]. But you have to be pragmatic. We don't tell people the territories are an integral part of Judaism, they're only one small aspect of it."*

Rabbi Mendel Weinbach, Ohr Semayah

"What these students have done," says Weinbach, "is to have made the idea of teshuva acceptable to the public. Ten or even five years ago, ba'alei teshuva were considered a curiosity at best and an outrage at worst. This has all changed radically."

Weinbach is one of the founders of Ohr Semayah which is housed in a large campus-style complex at the edge of Jerusalem's Ma'alot Dafna neighborhood. The experience of the past few years has taught Weinbach more about his students. "Many stay on for two years or more, marry and continue studying in *kollel* [an institution

where students learn full-time and receive a small salary]. Marriage into the families of the established Orthodox community is a sign of the degree of integration we have achieved. At the same time, we've learned to diversify our goals, especially for beginners. Initially we had the aim of making all our students *frum* [Orthodox in Yiddish]. Today we have lowered our sights. Just to heighten a student's Jewish consciousness or to save someone from intermarriage is also an achievement."

Saving world Jewry is a recurring theme in discussion with the rabbis and students at these yeshivas. But gathering the Jews to be saved is no simple thing: "You can't attract Diaspora Jews to Israel for its own sake," says Weinbach. "Threats of a potential holocaust also don't work; it's too abstract. When intermarriage hits someone's home there is a reaction. We find that many of our students have brothers or sisters who have married Gentiles."

The existence of Israel and especially the city of Jerusalem are major factors in easing the students' return to Judaism. It is often easier for a ba'al teshuva to move country than to change lifestyle so radically at home. For those who cannot come to Israel the yeshivas have programs in the Diaspora, often run by alumni. Lessons increasingly feature recordings of the heads of Israel's ba'al teshuva yeshivas. A good number of students have graduated to

education in the Diaspora, either as rabbis or teachers. They are natural conduits to direct the flow of further students back to their alma maters in Jerusalem.

In Israel many young people are introduced to the ba'al teshuva world by Rabbi Meir Shuster who patrols Jerusalem's central bus station and the Western Wall looking for potential "customers."

Recently he has been joined by another independent organization doing similar work while a parallel group financed by Shuster's backers, Pe'ilim of America, has started work among young women.

Brakha Zavit, who runs a women's program, aims her sights at the many students who come to study at Israeli universities for a short term and are glad of the opportunity to have some minimum exposure to authentic Judaism while in the country. Brakha's programs include "Fabulous Friday Nights," when the students stay in a Jewish home and participate in an Orthodox Sabbath, and a "Mikveh Tour" (a tour of ritual bathhouses) during which explanations are proffered as to the laws of marital purity and the role of women in Jewish life. Similar introductory courses of three, four or six weeks are offered by some of the larger yeshivas.

Rabbi Haim Brovender, founder and dean of Givat Hamivtar for men and Michlelet Bruria for women, has a reputation for attracting Ivy League academic types. "They're not sick people," he says, "merely deficient in one area of study. Our aim is to make them proficient and self-sufficient in studying source material. We believe that learning the texts well will change the students' inner life."

"On the other hand, yeshiva is an unnatural place which develops only certain aspects of their personalities. A community cannot be built on that. We're here to educate, not to change the world."

Others would disagree with Brovender's analysis. They can point to the number of communities which the yeshivas have formed over the years and the various plans (including those of Brovender himself) to expand such developments in the future.

***“We don’t give pat answers; we examine the tensions within Halakha itself and discover the coexistence of conflicting sources. The question is whether we can continue teaching ambiguity. Or put another way, do we have the courage to fail?”***

**Rabbi David Berkowitz, Pardess**

Haim Tcholkovsky, now a rabbi at the Diaspora Yeshiva, is a member of its first community adjacent to Mount Zion premises. (Nineteen other students and their families have just moved to a new community on the West Bank.) Haim believes a yeshiva should develop the students’ inner personality further, as well as teaching texts: “A person learning Torah has to change himself. Otherwise his learning is rootless. That’s why we stress *musar* [ethics] together with intense self-analysis to accompany the Torah study. Without developing the self you become a frozen form. Unfortunately, that’s often all that’s required. Even though the Orthodox community has accepted our products — we recently graduated a whole class of rabbinical students — they’ve not yet comprehended our methods.”

If the Orthodox community has lowered its reserve toward foreign returnees, the relationship between the Orthodox world, the secular society and the returnees becomes even more intense and complex with Israeli-born penitents. Unlike Westerners they are critical of Israel from within. That these students are Israelis who have felt the need for Orthodoxy is a direct assault on the values of secular Zionism.

The development of a separate Israeli ba’alei teshuva movement has received enormous coverage in the local media. Some of the country’s biggest show biz figures have made much-publicized conversions. Most important, the Israeli ba’alei teshuva constitute criticism of entrenched attitudes and ideological inertia.

Some ba’al teshuva yeshivas have been repeatedly accused of anti-Zionism. Some clearly support the state, but the position of Ohr Semayah, for example, is ambiguous. The yeshiva has denied charges of hostility toward the State of Israel.

Some yeshivas express their sympathy by adopting Hebrew as the language of instruction. The acceptance of state funding implies acceptance of the state. The less sympathetic institutions do not formally state any anti-Zionist position, but by their very nature they are critical of the country.

While some Israeli reporting has been woefully inaccurate and unbalanced, it expresses, beneath its almost hysterical tone, the fears — especially of the liberal-left intelligentsia — of an imminent invasion of hordes of evangelicals.

Other reactions, however, reveal a sneaking admiration for these new spirituals. This is even truer of the way in which these yeshivas have defused a potentially dangerous Israeli criminal element. Rabbi Avraham Hazan of the police and prison service has been quoted as saying: “Contrary to the high failure rate of other forms of rehabilitation, the ba’al teshuva movement has had an extraordinary success with prisoners. Of 135 convicts in my charge, including murderers, drug-pushers, rapists and pimps, not one has returned to his previous criminal life.” These are impressive figures.

***“Rabbi Weinberg met [former premier] Menabem Begin just after the Entebbe rescue. It cost five million dollars to rescue 70 Jews, he told him. ‘Don’t you think we could spend a similar amount to save thousands more?’”***

**Rabbi Mendel Weinbach of Ohr Semayah**



Foreign ba'alei teshuva are usually young, post-high school or graduates Israelis, on the other hand, tend to be much older. All have finished army service and most are married. One marriage partner's "conversion" can lead to the breakdown of a relationship. This also generates resentment within the country.

The new yeshivas have not forsaken traditional methods of learning, only adapted them to the needs of searching students. Most ba'alei teshuva are well-acquainted with secular literature and philosophy. Unlike a traditional yeshiva, this would enter class discussion. The basic tenets of Judaism must be taught with rational explanations; Judaism must answer the needs of modern, secular, experienced students.

Talmudic study is postponed, and finally taught in a critical, analytic fashion. In some yeshivas, men and women study together and the average age is often 30 or older. Students adopt religious Judaism by volition, but at ba'al

teshuva yeshivas peer pressure is strong.

Ron Kislev of the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz* recently estimated there are between 12,000 and 15,000 ba'alei teshuva in Israel. The number is probably much smaller, but it's clear the movement has grown and is now firmly established. While the number of new students each year has remained at the same level, the proportion of students who remain for a second year and eventually form their own communities has increased significantly.

The ba'al teshuva movement itself defies easy categorization. Its leading personalities and institutions are too disparate in character and outlook to be classed together. The difficulty of uniting different factions was underlined by a recent unsuccessful attempt to organize a ba'al teshuva convention in Jerusalem. What is indisputable, however, is that 17 years after the Six Day War the institutions, students and teachers of the ba'al teshuva world have become a permanent fixture in the geographic and spiritual capital of the Jewish people.

□

CSO: 4400/75

JORDAN

BRIEFS

PHOSPHATE EXPORT INCREASE--Jordan, the world's third largest phosphate exporter may double its exports of the mineral by 1990. The exploitation of the Shaidiyah phosphate site (proven reserves: one billion tonnes) is awaiting completion of a feasibility study by a consortium of French and Jordanian firms. The consortium, made up of the French companies Sofreraill, Sofremines, CDF Chimie, Bureau de Recherches Geologiques et Miniers and the Jordanian consultants Dar al-Handassah won a \$3mm contract to undertake the study last week. The technical and economic study of the site in southern Jordan will take two years to complete. The mining project, developed by the state-owned Jordan Phosphate Mines Co., includes building a township for 25,000 people and setting up a rail link between the site and the Red Sea port of Aqaba. [Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 2, 21 Jan 85 p 12]

CSO: 4400/69

SYRIA

PROGRESS OF AL-RAQQAH RURAL ELECTRIFICATION DETAILED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 1 Jan 85 p 3

[Text] There will not be a large or small residential concentration in al-Raqqah province which is not supplied with electricity during the coming year. This is thanks to the unceasing labor of the workshops of the al-Raqqah directorate of electricity, which works day and night believing that every citizen in this governorate has the right to receive enough of the necessary services of electricity, water and roads.

TISHRIN met with Eng Ibrahim 'Awad, director of electricity for al-Raqqah, to talk about the projects which the directorate is implementing in the city.

Rural Electrification

The al-Raqqah directorate of electricity executed all of its plans in the rural area and the city during the recent years. If we take a quick, brief look at the plan for implementation, particularly for electrification of the rural area, the rise in the line of the graph of production percentages becomes clear to us. Electricity came to al-Raqqah province in 1953, but only the city of al-Raqqah was electrified, by means of small generating units. In 1959, electrification was completed for the first village in the governorate, in the al-Sabkhah region. A second village, Tal 'Abyad, was electrified in 1961. By 1974, there were six villages with electricity, and two more villages were electrified in 1976. Ten villages were electrified in 1977, 17 villages in 1978, and 12 other villages in 1979. All together, 47 villages received electricity from 1953 through the middle of 1979.

After the electricity for al-Raqqah was separated from the electricity of the northern region in the middle of 1979, and thanks to big efforts in the province by the party and government leadership, and the workers in the al-Raqqah directorate of electricity, the connection of electricity was completed to 14 villages in 1980. In 1981, electricity was brought to 57 villages, to 82 villages in 1982, and to 114 villages in 1983. This raised the number of villages with electricity to 314.

## 1984 Plan of al-Raqqah Directorate of Electricity

The al-Raqqah electricity plan for 1984 calls for bringing electricity to more than 91 villages. So far, 60 of these have been completed, and the remainder are in the process of implementation and will be put into service before the end of the current year. By this, we see that the percentage of implementation is proceeding in an excellent fashion, especially in the past 4 years. From 1953 until the middle of 1979, only 47 villages in the province received electricity, whereas we notice, as we mentioned, that the period since 1980 is a peak in the results of our work. We were able, during the past 4 years, to electrify 358 villages, thus bringing the number of villages with electricity in the governorate to about 405.

## 1985 Plan

The directorate's plan calls for bringing electricity to more than 134 villages. According to capabilities, studies, and established plans, it is expected that all families and residents in the rural areas of the governorate will have electricity in 1986.

## Development of the Directorate's Activities During the Past 4 Years

It is noticable that the performance plans grew regularly each year, since the majority of the 405 villages with electricity received it during the past 4 years. Moreover, about 868 kilometers of medium voltage lines were laid during the same period, and low voltage lines extended to about 1,120 kilometers. In the area of installing electrical transformers, more than 335 overhead stations have been implemented. Also, the number of meters installed by the directorate was more than 33,000.

## Electrical Maintenance in the Rural Areas

Offices and service centers have been built in the towns of al-Mansurah and al-Subkhah, the districts of Tall 'Abyad and al-Jurniyah, the town of al-Karamah, and the city of al-Thawrah. The function of these stations is to maintain the networks and assure prompt service whenever electrical current is interrupted.

## New Electrical Projects

Work is under way to complete the needs and requirements for transformer stations in Tall 'Abyad, south of the city of al-Raqqah, and in the area of al-Jurniyah. There are 66 stations at 20 kilovolts. Each has a capacity of 2 to 10 megavolt-amperes. These stations will achieve the desired goal of improving the electrical situation of all of the sections of al-Raqqah directorate.

## How Projects of the Directorate Were Implemented, and the Policy Followed in Electrifying Villages

Previously, projects of the directorate were carried out by private sector contractors. Now, all of the directorate's projects, as well as low voltage lines and main lines for medium voltage, are implemented in co-operation with public sector companies, particularly the Organization for Military Housing and the General Organization for the Euphrates Dam.

In the method followed in electrifying one village and not another, the village must be close to the high tension lines, and its population density high enough. It is not possible to connect electricity to a village with a small number of residents and to neglect a village dense in population. Occasionally, a village is electrified which does not have many residents, but which is close to the power lines.

## Construction of a Building for the Directorate

The value of the new administrative office building is more than 10 million Syrian pounds. It will be put into service in the beginning of the coming year. The building will have six floors and places for equipment maintenance, and gardens.

The building will contain all departments and offices of the directorate, which were spread about in a number of places in the city. This building will provide convenience to the citizenry when a citizen encounters a difficulty during his application to the directorate. Likewise, this building will make many funds available to the state treasury which were paid as rents for leased properties, and it will ensure the psychological health and comfort of the administrative cadre.

Comrade 'Awad closed his conversation with TISHRIN by saying: "The rural area of the country, particularly the rural area of al-Raqqah province, has encountered every attention and concern of the ruling party and its secretary-general, comrade-in-arms Hafiz al-Asad. Electricity has spread to all regions of the governorate, in addition to road and water projects. These services led, finally, to termination of the flight from the rural area to the city, which in turn led to the availability of manpower in the rural area, which is a factor in increasing production, strengthening the economy of this steadfast nation in the face of all attempts and plots which have been devised against it."

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CSO: 4404/171

SYRIA

ORGANIZATION PLAN FOR FRUIT TREE CULTIVATION

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 31 Dec 84 p 5

[Text] The cultivation of fruit trees in the country has expanded noticeably during the past few years. This expansion made necessary the supply of needed nursery plants of excellent varieties and characteristics. The Ministry of Agriculture undertook to produce the required seedlings and to distribute them to the farmers, according to their requests, which they submit to the agricultural agencies or the farmers' associations at appointed times each year.

The production centers for seedlings which are subordinate to the Ministry of Agriculture and are spread throughout the provinces of the country--numbering 26 centers--were able to develop their production from 800,000 seedlings in 1980, to 1175 million seedlings in 1983. This year, 1984, their production is approximately 16 million seedlings. Moreover, as a result of the increasing expansion in cultivation of fruit trees, and the increasing demand for seedlings, the Ministry of Agriculture undertook to construct 11 new agricultural centers, spread throughout the provinces. Their total area amounts to 7,635 dunums, while the old centers had no more than 8,249 dunums. Do these centers respond to all of the requests of farmers for seedlings, however?

According to what Mr Faysal Maryud, director of agricultural affairs in the Ministry of Agriculture told us, it is not necessary to respond to all of the farmers' requests for seedlings; rather, it is necessary to provide all of the varieties and types for the areas in which improvements are being made as called for in the established afforestation plan.

The Agricultural Reorganization Plan

A result of the haphazard expansion which the farmers pursued previously in cultivating fruit trees in the country, by embarking, most of the time, on cultivation of predetermined and uncommon types, without observing well-considered plans, led to surpluses of some varieties and types of fruits in the market, which in turn led to a loss of some of the harvest and material harm to the farmers.

Given this state of affairs, existence of an agricultural reorganization plan is a necessary matter. Mr. Faysal Maryud says that he completed drawing up an agricultural reorganization plan this year, and that it is being applied for the first time in the country. The Ministry of Agriculture and the farmers' union and some organizations related to the agricultural sector participated in drawing up the plan. It is based on the 5-year plan, and the model regions for afforestation in the country. It includes distribution of seedlings on the basis of this plan, offering the necessary varieties and numbers according to the region in which these varieties of fruit trees are being improved. The plan for this year includes 12 million seedlings. Mr. Faysal Maryud emphasized that if a farmer requests grape vines in a region where cultivation of apples is being improved, he will not be given grape vine seedlings, but will be given apple seedlings. If a farmer moves outside the plan, and cultivates varieties other than those determined by the plan, he will be subject to an audit and be in violation of the law.

#### The Varieties Are Selected And Carefully Studied

Some farmers ask why the varieties of fruit trees which we have presently are not the same as those found in other countries. Mr. Maryud explained that the varieties and kinds of fruit seedlings chosen for cultivation in our country are selected and chosen as a result of reports from the agricultural research directorate, on the basis of their suitability to the environment, on the one hand, and on economic grounds on the other hand. This is so that the varieties chosen are available for consumption over a long season, because types are selected which have sequential periods of ripening, with early, middle, and late maturity. This is what the farmers were not responsible for in the past.

#### Seedlings for the Associations Free This Year

Also, Mr. Maryud says that the seedlings will be assured to be free of charge this year for the farmers' associations, in their status as legal persons, while the farmers who are members of the associations will be assured that they will be available at a low price.

#### Importation of Seedlings

Some farmers ask why permits to import seedlings are not given to them as has occurred previously. He explained that importing is allowed in case of a shortfall in the agricultural centers subordinate to the state, in order to meet the needs required by the plan, and that some farmers who come under the plan, but can not be assured the desired seedlings, are granted individual import licenses, since the state does not import for them. But, as Mr. Maryud pointed out, individual importing is within stipulations. The most important of these is that the variety desired is not available in the country; and secondly, the private field of the farmer is subject to examination by an agricultural committee that determines the area of the land, the kind of seedlings which match the land, and the number of seedlings necessary for the area.



### Delay in Distribution of the Seedlings

Will the delay in distributing the seedlings to the farmers come to an end? Mr Maryud says that delay occurs occasionally in production and distribution of seedlings due to natural factors, but that there is still delay in the suitable technical conditions for cultivation of the seedlings. Before distribution, the seedlings are submitted to a technical committee for examination and confirmation that they are free of disease and suitable for planting.

### A Final Word

It is hoped, after construction of the new agricultural centers for seedlings, and repair and overhaul of the old farms, to set aside some fields to improve the production process of seedlings, so that we are able to leave behind the problem of mixing the different varieties of seedling, one for the other, during distribution.

Many farmers complained about this in the past.

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CSO: 4404/171

SYRIA

## ALLEPPO FRUIT TREE, FOREST PLANTINGS DETAILED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 1 Jan 85 p 3

[Text] Year after year, the forested area in our country increases, embodying in trees the prospect of a beautiful and improved future. With the beginning of the current afforestation season, let us see what the Aleppo directorate of agriculture has prepared for the season.

In the area of fruit tree afforestation, the plan includes cultivation of 5,574 new hectares of the province's land with fruit trees, including the area which will be afforested in the green belt project. Of this total area, 249 hectares will be irrigated.

Mechanized units of the directorate have undertaken reclamation of 3,000 hectares, in various areas of the directorate, to prepare them for cultivation in fruit trees. The mechanized units are still engaged in this task.

Also, the directorate carried out operations of digging up and preparing seedlings for distribution to co-operative and private sector farmers, so that distribution can be carried out in the beginning of the coming year.

The number of seedlings intended for distribution to the province and others, is 1.8 million seedlings of various kinds, including 800,000 pistachio trees from seed, 800,000 almond trees from seed; 150,000 grape vines grafted and from seed, 130,000 olive trees, and peach, cherry, green plum, apple, plum, walnut, pomegranate, fig and quince trees.

According to other statistics of the directorate of agriculture, the total forested area of fruit trees in the governorate is 142,000 hectares. These statistics indicate that there are 13 million grape vines, 9.4 million olive trees, 1.9 million pomegranate trees, and 3.8 million pistachio trees.

### Forest Trees

It has been determined to cultivate 1,080 hectares of land in the province with approximately 2 million forest trees of evergreen and pine, distributed among the places of 'Ayn 'Alu, Kafr Rum, Kawbalik and Askin in the

district of Afrin, and Kafr Halab in the district of Sam'an, and Jabal al-Nur in the district of 'Ayn al-'Arab.

The mechanized units of the directorate have carried out operations of opening the land and preparing it for digging. Also, the agricultural nurseries belonging to the directorate provided the necessary seedlings and carried out the activities of planting. It is expected that these activities will continue until the middle of this coming February.

#### The Agricultural Nurseries

A number of agricultural nurseries subordinate to the directorate undertook to assure the necessary trees for implementation of the plan. The Aleppo nursery provided fruit and forest seedlings, nurseries Babinnis and Kafr Antun produced fruit tree seedlings, and the 'Afrin nursery produced forest tree seedlings. Their combined capacity is about 4 million seedlings annually.

Currently, preparation of a new nursery is being completed for production of forest tree seedlings. It is the (al-Kumari) nursery, with an area of 10 hectares and a production capacity of about 3 million seedlings annually. It will be completed during this coming January, and put into use.

In addition to these nurseries, a private nursery in (al-'Adami), in the desert, produces pasture seedlings, since the current year's plan includes cultivation of 1.7 million pasture shrubs.

12780

CSO: 4404/171

MINISTER OF HEAVY INDUSTRIES DETAILS FUTURE PROJECTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 12 Jan 85 pp 6, 21, 26

[Text] The representatives of the Majlis in the session for today, Thursday, which was held under the chairmanship of Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani and then Mohammad Yazdi, ratified two bills and rejected the bill to attach one note to Article 6 of the Islamic penal law.

Following the ratification by the Majlis, Engineer Behzad Nabavi, the minister of heavy industries, continued his report from the previous session and reenumerated the problems of this ministry for the representatives.

Seyyed Mohammad Asghari, the representative of Tehran, was the first pre-agenda speaker in the Majlis on Thursday. He said:

"Be alert. Satan is provoking its party and has attracted the alienated ones with no identity towards himself in order to return injustice to its nests and falsehood to its base."

Greetings to the martyrs, greetings to Hoseyn, son of 'Ali, the leader and Sire of all Martyrs of the world. Greetings to that freedom, the first step of which is to be God's slave. Greetings to the imam of the nation and the families of the martyrs, who have amazed the world with their patience and submission. Greetings to the combatants and all the brave men who possess a vision, thought and deeds on the axis and orbit of the "truth," who measure all individuals, actions and values by truth, and not on the scale of power and personality.

He added: Yesterday was the anniversary of the uprising of the brave people of Qom and tomorrow is the anniversary of the martyrdom of the revered Seyyed Navvab-Safavi and his supporters. In honoring these days, we respect the memory of those self-sacrificers, self-sacrificing human beings who remained in their

divine "nature" and proudly hastened towards the creator of that "nature."

The Result of the Renaissance, the Return to the Age of Ignorance by Greece and Rome

Yes, the foundation of humanity was "divine nature." Aggressiveness, greed, ambition and oppressiveness deprived this "calif of God" of human nature, and idolatry began from those days. The unity of the Creator, the result of which was the unity of the prophets and mankind, was forgotten and categorization, colors, multiplicities, injustice, discrimination and human exploitation rose up from human beings, and at the same rate that injustice and rebellion increased, movements also heightened. With the steadfastness of the so-called "renaissance" in Europe and then the French Revolution, it was expected that true freedom would appear, but the opposite resulted. The result of all that hope was not a revitalization but a return to the age of ignorance of Greece and Rome. Mankind once again became a captive of idols and idolatry. This time, the idol of the self entered the arena even more savagely and horribly, and so-called "humanism" took over human thought. Individual freedom became the talk of the day in uncontrolled release, and the human being became selfish and self-centered. Alas, for this lack of caring became known as freedom.

The West apparently felt that it was victorious, because it thought it had broken the power of the pope and torn the chains of discrimination, unaware that it had become another dragon.

Oh kings, we killed the eternal enemy/ A worse enemy remains within. The mother of all idols is the idol of the self/ Because that idol is a snake and this one a dragon.

Asghani continued: Then decadent human liberation and liberalism became a human wolf and the flames of war, aggression and injustice took over the world, and God was forgotten. Hence, deviation began in ideas, in behavior, in politics, in rights, in economy, in culture, in short, in all human endeavors. One of the results of this viewpoint was opposition to Islam and the defeat of Muslims. Israel, this bastard of oppressors, was conceived in the heart of the Muslim nation and in a holy place, which was the first Kaaba of Muslims. It was astonishing that the puppet leaders governing the Islamic nations aligned themselves with Satan and Camp David became the slaughterhouse of so many hopes and ideals.

At a time when despair had taken over everywhere and in tyrannized Iran, Satan was dominant in every nook and cranny, the Islamic revolution attained victory, the sun of the Koran returned to the scene with the efforts of the great source of

emulation from the family of the martyrs of Karbala and lines and consciences were changed. Self-sacrifice was rekindled and the slogan of neither East nor West but Islamic Republic cast a new design on the world of politics. Not merely a revolution but a great mission appeared and a new human being with old ideological roots was born, a human being whose only weapon was faith and whose only cry was holy war until martyrdom. Yes, brother, this is what it is, and history is a truthful witness which those obstructing blessings will not stop their efforts and try to return Satan to its place. Protection and preservation of the blessings of this revolution and this great, divine, human mission requires self-sacrifice. This is a statement in the Koran:

We bestow upon you blessings, so impart to your God and slaughter [Arabic].

It is precisely from this standpoint that the war is the main issue, the most essential of issues. The war is tied with the nature and essence of the revolution. This oppression is awaiting before everything else to break the spirit of self-sacrifice, generosity and martyrdom which has created a storm in the world and to see the face of a mother who smiles defiantly, faced with the martyrdom of her fourth son, disappointed and in despair. Oh, God, do not shame us in this great test.

#### The Blights of the Revolution

Asghari then said: Brothers and sisters, passing through this sensitive juncture of the revolution requires us to identify the blights of this great movement and try to eliminate them. In my humble opinion, the most important of these blights are:

1. Lack of total attention to the war: In regards to the war, the Majlis must become active more than ever before. The Muslim nation must make holy war their slogan, accept living in war, and coordinate the organized combative forces with self-sacrifice and initiative. Obviously, the comfort-seeking spirits and those nurtured in abundance will not be able to tolerate this battle.

2. Lack of attention to different aspects of beloved Islam, not merely as a "regime," but as an organized and spreading "regime" which has taken over the government and will present itself as a guiding regime to the world, to be a refuge for the oppressed of the world, a regime with an independent legal, political, economic, financial and cultural system. Of course, such a regime cannot resolve the complicated global problems by relying on an extreme, closed viewpoint.

3. Lack of attention to the Constitution as a sacred document whose every line and word reflect the blood of the thousands of

brave Muslims who gave up their lives and property. Hesitation in the implementation of the principles of the Constitution will have harmful consequences. Here, we remind the press not to discuss certain issues which create doubt in connection with the Constitution. Doubt in the implementation of the principles of the Constitution will destroy the foundation of laws in the society.

4. Lack of empathetic attention to the oppressed people and low-income strata. The commander of the faithful considers the whole nation as the pillar of religion and would disregard the discontent of the eminent and the aristocracy, who only think about themselves. "Give up the interests of the prominent people for the contentment of the public" [Arabic]. He instructs Malek: Let your heart's ear always listen to the oppressed.

Is the Forecast of Snow and Cold Weather Complicated?

5. Lack of unity and congruity in affairs: It is not possible to manage affairs with contradictory, unharmonious and opposing views on the part of the authorities or with irresponsible interference. Responsibility without authority is also destructive. If differences of opinion exist to the extent that disrespect results in regards to current affairs in the society, the management of affairs will be impossible and, God forbid, in the midst, the people will be sacrificed. How can it be accepted that at the height of the cold weather, suddenly there is a kerosene shortage? Is the forecast of cold weather and snow so complicated?

6. Lack of faith in law and legality in the society. The characteristic of law is its generality and its constancy. The highest authority must be as obedient to the law as the lowest strata. Lack of observance of regulations will result in chaos and inevitable conflicts. Discrimination in the implementation of law is destructive. Therefore, law must be strengthened with the full capability of the judicial branch. The national inspection office must have more of a presence. In a society in which law does not govern, people feel unprotected and this is terrifying.

7. The existence of class differences. The palace-dweller will never go to the front. Class differences, which are the sinister legacy of discrimination and the tyrant, must be destroyed. The tax bill and the implementation of such measures as Article 49 might provide solutions. Reliance on oil revenues and current expenditures are the cancers of the revolution. In short, the existence of some incomplete elements in the offices, lack of attention to the encouragement and punishment system, lack of attention to workers and farmers who are the productive forces in the society, and also carelessness in the affairs of culture and



universities and, God forbid, lack of organization in the armed forces and aimlessness in foreign policy will result in extremely heavy damages.

Oh God, grant us victory in this great test and help us not to forget the authentic slogans of the revolution.

#### Statements of the Ardabil Representative

The second pre-agenda speech was given by 'Ali Mohammad Gharibani, the representative of Ardabil, who honored the revered martyrs of 9 January 1978 of the city of Qom and said: This movement and uprising was a turning point in history which was left behind by these men of God.

He added: As we know, compared to the affairs of the country, the issue of war and victory is the highest of priorities, and then there is need to study and pay attention to the situation of employees and workers.

We have heard the problems and the tragic situation of the government employees and workers of the Islamic Republic many times from the authorities and the Majlis representatives. Each one of the gentlemen have compassionately called the attention of the concerned authorities to the issue. I am certain that the serving government of the Islamic Republic is searching for appropriate solutions to remedy these pains and eliminate the problems with utmost concern. I hope God will grant them success. The problem in regards to the government employees is to provide a living for them and not to change the salary factor or increase their salary, because obviously, such an increase will result in additional inflation and new problems for the government and its employees. Now, what must be done? Is it not better to plan rather than increase salaries so that:

A part of the amount for the increase is spent on strengthening the capital and management of the cooperative and consumption companies of the government establishment employees so that in this way the primary needs of the employees and their families in terms of clothing, food and other equipment is procured and provided totally in proportion to the number of their dependents.

Another part of the amount should be given as discounts to employees and workers when they are purchasing goods.

In regards to other indirect forms of aid, they can be exempted from the payment of some daily expenditures, such as those for water, electricity, telephone, treatment and housing, for a logical consumed amount.

The government should be responsible to procure the goods needed by the employees through procurement and production organizations and Qods and city and village chain stores and put them at the disposal of the cooperatives.

In this manner, the employee will be free of the middlemen, hoarders and price hikers, considering his low salary, in regards to the procurement of his living needs.

#### The Efforts of Oppressors to Infiltrate Corruption into Schools

Then, as a warning to the educational authorities and parents, he said: Since the stupid conspiracies of Eastern and Western global oppressors, these Satanic evils who have no aim but enmity with divine spirituality and the valuable Islamic culture, have failed in every form and pretext vis-a-vis the always-on-the-scene, resistant, steadfast and martyr-nurturing nation of Iran, recently, in order to corrupt the sacred public opinion, they have invested in spreading corruption and problems in regards to nihilism and unIslamic, immoral behavior, such as that of punkists, addiction, improper dress, evening parties, birthday parties, telephone conversations, the distribution of video tapes, and most importantly, deteriorating and corrupting the pure minds of the youth and the builders of the future of the Islamic society. They are trying to infiltrate the schools with corruption through various means. Hence, it is felt that the operators of education, parents and the judiciary, propaganda and the mass media have a heavy duty and responsibility to, God willing, through providing the necessary training and warning, help our beloved children to recognize the roads from pitfalls. It is expected that the government and judicial and law enforcement organizations will deal with such problems decisively, and also fight price hiking and smuggling and uproot corruption from the society.

As a suggestion, Gharibani said: In order to prepare large fundamental plans on a national scale, which is the foundation of every study, research, developmental, exploratory, industrial, and agricultural task, by providing practical resources and fundamental work, the Plan and Budget Organization should prepare national plans and take steps to provide for the needs of requesting organizations, of which 90 percent are governmental.

By the way, why has the supreme planning council, which in accordance with the legislative ratification dated 16 July 1980 of the Revolution Council and the ratification dated 12 July 1982 of the Cabinet, which has regular weekly sessions with 11 fully-authorized representatives of the ministers in the Plan and Budget Organization, not been able to act in accordance with its legal duties, which are to determine the general policies of the planning system and also determine the duties of the government

and private sector planning organizations? Or why have the determining ratifications of this council not been implemented? I hope that the Plan and Budget Organization, considering the legal duties which have not been mentioned in the above-mentioned ratification, will take steps to repair the damages resulting from the lack of fundamental plans for the country and make use of and increase the capability of the expert forces affiliated with that organization as soon as possible.

In regards to national divisions, he said: One of the fundamental tasks, which has changed the organizational affairs of the country and will decrease the problems concerning the imbalance in the divisionary units and lack of access, is the precise implementation of the new national divisions law, the implementation of which will certainly eliminate the motives concerning migration and will give special attention to the deprived rural areas. Also, the financial burden resulting from the implementation of this law is insignificant compared to the heavy costs resulting from lack of access and improper communication with those areas. Its implementation is feasible and in the interests of the government of the Islamic Republic in every respect.

Attend to the complaints and discontent expressed by the Islamic societies in connection with the protest against the new duties of the public relations offices of the ministries, which have assumed some of the duties and authority of the Islamic societies, and do not permit more duplication of duties in the government organizations.

#### The Needs of the Electoral Zone

In conclusion, he expressed the needs of his electoral area as follows:

1. The study of the very tragic situation of water in Ardabil, which, due to pollution and harmful sediments, causes the hospitalization of several people every day.
2. The building of a slaughterhouse, which was supposed to be constructed due to the needs and importance of the area.
3. The development of higher education centers, particularly the medical and paramedical training complex project.
4. The establishment of an agricultural and animal husbandry research center in the area.
5. A resolution of the problem of urban land ownership required by the government organization and revolutionary institutions.

6. Rapid measures to build an airport terminal, since, because there is no terminal, the present international runway has been left unused.
7. Expediting and more attention to the construction of the Khalkhal-Ardabil road.
8. Measures to complete the Nur and Molla Ahmad dams.
9. Providing a revolution committee in Ardabil, with a population of 800,000.
10. A resolution to the problem of land and urban housing in the (Nir) area.
11. The establishment of a maternity ward and laboratory in the (Nir) area.
12. The provision of a 300-bed hospital in Ardabil.
13. The creation of an electricity outreach network to the villages of Ardabil, (Nir) and Namin.

#### Statements of the Amol Representative

The last pre-agenda speaker was 'Isa Vala'i, the representative of Amol. In connection with the war, he said:

The latest statement of our beloved leader and imam was, war, war until the conspiracy is eliminated. Our source of emulation has guided us and pointed out that the Koran will not allow us to make peace. In this connection, I find one point necessary, which is, in the war of Saffain, when the victory of 'Ali's army was certain, suddenly 500 persons rose Korans on spears and shouts of cease-fire and peace were heard.

In the imposed war of Iraq on Iran, after having so many martyrs and self-sacrificers left to our brave nation and with the Islamic soldiers camped behind the tents of Saddam supporters and next to Baghdad, the cries of peace were raised by the Ba'thists of Baghdad to the global oppressors. Our nation must know that in the same way that 'Ali was forced to accept peace which resulted in the anti-Islamic ideas of the Kharejites, the battle of Naravan and the following slaughter, this peace would have similar consequences, but our people will not allow history to be repeated and this imam to be forced to accept peace. No, this will never happen.

## Factors of Discontentment

Then concerning the factors of discontentment, he said: Since our revolution is popular, the survival of the revolution depends on the survival of the people on the scene and their disappointment will result in the downfall of the revolution, I consider it my duty to say a few words concerning the factors of discontentment. Before I begin, it is necessary to say that recounting the factors of discontentment would not mean to overlook the services of the officials, because we are at war with a regime for whom global oppression has openly declared its support and would not stop at providing any help. The government, which is at war, has offered significant services and advancements and must be praised and thanked for them. Recounting the factors of discontentment is also a step towards the continuation of the revolution in order for the officials to succeed in eliminating these shortcomings. With your attention to this point, I will point out four factors of discontentment.

1. The pressure of inflation and high prices, especially on the employees and educators, whom I thank as a representative from this podium and who protect their revolutionary dignity by tolerating the pressures of inflation and high prices. Why do the officials take advantage of this dignity and not think about them? Suppose it is not possible to increase their salaries because of the increase in inflation. Could they not be given housing loans, sickness loans, and marriage loans and through providing their needs at low cost, could their cooperatives not be strengthened? With this situation, can we expect stealing, bribery and idleness to be eliminated? It is reported from the Prophet, who said: Oh God, do not take away bread from us, for if you do so, you will not be worshiped. In other words, empty stomachs have no faith, unless a person is infallible. Therefore, it is recommended that the Islamic government provide for the magistrate financially to the extent that he would have no material needs and would not deviate as a result of greed. Although one of the requirements of judgeship is to be just, suffering from material needs would make an ordinary person commit errors, what can be expected of person who is not ordinary [as published]? I call the attention of the honorable representatives to this important issue in ratifying the budget bill.

## Factional Attitudes of Some of the Officials

2. Factional leanings. Unfortunately, some of the officials think of a position in terms of their prey and not in terms of trust. Therefore, once they attain it, they first begin to eliminate the opposing faction and through their own particular narrow-mindedness and lack of Islamic amplitude, which is a proud trait of the prophets and the men of God, they dismiss the rival



from the scene through unIslamic behavior. Hence, every spiritual message of the imam which is expressed with particular compassion is taken advantage of by their narrow nature, which will result in a great tragedy. When the actions and statements of the imam are interpreted in various and preconceived forms, it is observed that they result in a distortion of the dignity and credit of the imam's statement, and a conflict among the supporters of the revolution and the unity of the counterrevolutionaries. For example, in the theological center, the clerics and the supporters of the revolution become unkind to one another, whereas the opponents of the revolution and those exiled from the cities who have been rejected from the Hezbollah people and have taken refuge in Qom are trying to harm the revolution in any manner through frequent meetings. In the provincial cities, some of the authentic clerics have put a distance between themselves and the people, but the pseudo-clerics have joined the counterrevolutionaries. The same is true in the Majlis and the government. As 'Ali said, the supporters of Mo'avieh have united in their falsehood, and you are in conflict over your truth.

I spoke ambiguously with friends/ Oh God, solve this riddle.

He added: Of course, both factions, because of their strong compassion for the revolution and Islam, think that the actions of the other faction will result in the downfall of the revolution and Islam and they behave in this manner. It is like the excessive love of parents for their only child, when each parent drags the child towards himself or herself to protect him, which results in the child being torn to pieces. Today, the Islamic revolution, this beloved newborn, suffers from this malady. How long must this painful problem continue and who must attend to it? Anyone other than the imam? And does the imam not have the limitations of the Prophet and 'Ali?

#### Currency Limitations and Taking Priorities into Consideration

3. Lack of a proper program. I will set aside the problem of agriculture and what has happened to such items as wheat, rice, and cotton, and what the policy is. I will set aside the problem of carpets and I will not speak of fisheries. I will not refer to pistachio nuts. I will only point out a very small problem in regards to the consumption of what we have. If there are currency restrictions, why are the priorities not taken into consideration? For instance, viscose is not imported sufficiently and domestic production suffers. At the moment, 600 tons of artificial fibers are left in the Tabakan textile of Amol and there is no purchaser for them. Let us put all this aside. Given these limitations, why do the travels of the delegations, some of which are unnecessary, continue? Why are there so many heavy expenditures? And why are large amounts of currency paid

to send people on non-obligatory pilgrimages? Why is \$500 paid for a European excursion? Are there no more important and necessary problems in the country? I will refer to one small example. A number of the self-sacrificers of the revolution suffer pain and are not sent abroad. Their failure to completely recover will not go without psychological effects on them and they might say that the authorities are not concerned about them, because if they were sent abroad, they would be cured. Why is some of the money not spent on providing more comfort for them? Would it not be more logical, rather than spending such currency, to remove the needless pressure on the hajj pilgrims? The nation appears to be poverty stricken when we see an Iranian woman offer her drink, which is worth one rial, for sale because she has not used it?

4. Unsound distribution. Our nation is not suffering from poverty, but from unfair distribution. They observe that various kinds of goods exist in the market in large quantities, but the operators complain about shortages and do not sell them at the real price. They are even more astonished when they hear one of the heads of the three branches announce on television that several truckfuls of smuggled iron have been discovered. Do the officials not ask themselves, who is running the country? Will the burden of responsibility be taken off the shoulders of the official by saying this?

#### The Problems of the Electoral Zone

Then, concerning the problems of his constituency, he said: First, I will express my thanks to the people of Amol, who are ever present on the scene, and congratulate them on the anniversary of 26 January 1982, the day of their self-sacrifice and bravery, the day that the functionaries in the forests nurtured the thought of the occupation of this city in vain, in order to take over their cities in the province through Amol. But the people of Amol, who are ever present on the scene, responded so vehemently in the first moments, dispersed them and caused the beloved imam to thank them.

Among the important issues of Amol is the issue of rice, because 50,000 hectares of the lands in Amol are under cultivation, that is, more than 37 percent of the cultivated land in the province, and more than one-third of the rice is produced by Amol farmers. Although Amol rice is not of the quality of Tarom and Sadri, the committed Muslim farmers of Amol have responded positively to the call of the government for self-sufficiency and economic independence and have allotted twice the land during the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984, that is, 52 percent of their land, to the cultivation of this kind of rice and have produced 88,000 tons of it. If this government project continues and the Provinces of Mazandaran and Gilan plant Amol rice [grade] 3



instead of other kinds of rice, there will be no need to import foreign rice. However, because of the lack of correct planning in purchasing, a significant blow has been inflicted on next year's cultivation, since the Ministry of Commerce has established five centers for the purchase of Amol rice [grades] 2 and 3 in the province--one center in Neka', three in Babol, and one in Amol. Considering that one-third of the rice in the Province is in Amol, that is, 88,000 tons of Amol rice 3, with the establishment of a purchasing center in Amol with a purchasing capacity of 450 tons daily, which has been reduced now to 30 tons, purchasing will take more than 10 months. And then they refuse to purchase some of it under various pretexts, such as the rice being stained or having too many broken pieces. What planning and hope will encourage the farmer to cultivate this kind of rice next year? It would be more feasible for him to plant Tarom rice, because Tarom rice requires less work and fewer expenditures, sells at twice the price of Amol 3, and requires no marketing.

Although I am certain that the committed farmers of Amol will engage in planting more of this rice next year than they did the previous year, because their main motive in cultivating this kind of rice is their faith in the revolution and the Islamic Republic, this is a strong protest against the purchasing situation and the lack of careful planning by the government. Hence, I strongly urge the government to guarantee the purchase of this rice next year and anticipate a practical solution to attract the trust of the farmers and to establish another purchasing center in Amol to buy this year's rice as soon as possible.

Another problem is the stoppage of the share of the villages, because such items as meat, rice, eggs, washing machines, color televisions, and vacuum cleaners are not given to villages at the government prices. Although most of the chicken farms are in villages and the villagers have to put up with their stench, they are deprived of chickens. Now, what can attract the villager to stay in the village?

Also, because they are villages, the villages of Amol are unable to purchase flour at a government price even though Amol villages do not plant wheat. In the same way that the urban non-farming workers and employees of Amol are unable to purchase rice at the government price, because they are from the north, they are forced, with their low incomes, to purchase rice at open market prices. I hope the authorities find solutions to these problems.

#### Reminders of Representatives

Following the propaganda statements of the speakers, the reminders of the representatives

to the executive officials were read by the speaker of the Majlis as follows:

Mr Seyyed Hadi Khamene'i, representative of Mashhad: To the Ministry of Petroleum, concerning providing fuel for Mashhad and natural gas distribution for various oppressed areas of Mashhad.

Mr Zamani, the representative of Borujerd: To the Ministry of the Interior concerning the comprehensive map of the city of Borujerd, and appreciation to the housing foundation of Borujerd for the reconstruction of ruined areas.

Mr Khalkhali, representative of Qom: Congratulations and condolences to the surviving family members of the martyrs of 9 January of Qom, and appreciation to the Ministry of Energy concerning the procurement of water outreach well digging equipment.

Mr 'Abbasifard, representative of Khorramabad: To the Ministry of the Interior concerning the problems of the slaughterhouse and drinking water of Khorramabad and the Ministry of Roads and Transport concerning the secondary road from Khorramabad to Khanjan-Sepiddasht.

Mr Sahabozzamani, representative of Orumiyyeh: To the Ministry of Guidance concerning the prevention of the disposal of written Koranic verses in the press.

Mr Mohammadi, representative of Selseleh Dalfan: To the Ministry of Industries concerning the problems of the office of industries of Lorestan and to the Ministry of Mines and Metals concerning the elimination of shortages in the office of mines and metals of Lorestan.

Mr Jalali, representative of Firuzabad: To the Ministry of the Interior concerning the decision about workers with several trades.

Mr Qoreyshi, representative of Khomeyn: To the Ministry of Education concerning providing teachers for the villages of Khomeyn.



## Bill to Attach One Note to Article 6 of the Islamic Penal Law

Next on the agenda was the first round of discussions for a bill to attach one note to Article 6 of the Islamic penal law, which was discussed.

Mohammad Asghari, from the judicial affairs committee, explained: This bill was discussed on 1 August 1984 in the committee and, with the addition of the word "certain" to "punishments" in Note 2, the single article of the above-mentioned bill was ratified unanimously.

Single article. The note to Article 6 of the law concerning Islamic punishment ratified on 13 October 1982 by the committee on judicial affairs of the Majlis is changed to Note 1 and the following note is attached to the Article as Note 2.

Note 2. Punishments, security and rehabilitation mentioned in this article concern those punishments which are subject to change and do not include retribution and compensations.

It should be explained that the expressions of punishment and security and rehabilitative measures are those which were also common in the previous general penal laws and were carried out as security and rehabilitative measures. Sometimes certain steps were taken to prevent punishment and even after punishments, these steps were sometimes taken.

### Supporting and Opposing Statements

Then those supporting and opposing the bill spoke.

Mohammad Hsma'il Shushtari was the first opponent, who said: I request the honorable representatives to study Article 6, which has been printed on the back of this bill, and then let us see what the attached note intends to state. What is at issue here concerning punishments and security and rehabilitative measures would consist of four to five cases. The practice or stopping the practice of an action in accordance with the previous law was either an offense or it was not. This same practice or stopping the practice of an action is sometimes considered an offense and sometimes it is not in accordance with an unfair law. Based on an article in the Constitution, a law cannot be retroactive and the practice or stopping the practice of an action cannot be punishable in accordance with an unfair law.

As a supporter of this bill, Movahhedi-Savaji said: Article 6, which concerns punishment and security and rehabilitative measures, includes those punishments involving reduced penalties and those concerning lashes, compensation and retribution. Anyone who looks at this article and its following notes can see

clearly that the subject of Article 6 is punishments and security and rehabilitative measures. It by no means includes offenses which are punishable by retribution, lashes or compensation. When I studied this bill, it seemed to me that Article 6 was clear in itself and if there was a difference of opinion in the Supreme Judicial Council as to whether or not Article 6 includes lashes, retribution and compensation, an interpretation could have been made and rather than attaching a note to it, they could have asked the Majlis for the necessary interpretation in connection with Article 6. Therefore, I support the attached note.

Then Hoseyn 'Ali Rahmani, Seyyed Reza Zayvareh'i and Mohammad Asqari spoke in opposition, and Farajollah Afrazideh, Rabbani Amlashi, and Sadeq Khalkhali spoke in support of the attached bill, each expressing his opinion in connection with Article 6 of the Islamic penal law.

Then Dr Habibi, the minister of justice, provided some explanations concerning this attached note and said: I will first read a part of Article 6 of the Islamic penal law.

Article 6. Punishment and security and rehabilitative measures must be in accordance with a law established before the crime was committed. No action or stopping the practice of an action can be punished as an offense in accordance with a later law. However, if a law is established after an offense has been committed, which reduces or eliminates punishment or in other respects favors the offender in regards to prior offenses, it shall be effective until a final ruling is made. If in accordance with the previous law, the ruling is final and implementable, the following procedure must be carried out.

In regards to issues concerning penal laws, on the whole, since the legislator is a human being, the principle that a law is not retroactive in regards to a case in which the unfair law dictated reduction, in such a case, the principle that a law is not retroactive is voided. In other words, if the law which has been established later is milder or more favorable to the offender, it will be implemented. The issue which expresses Article 6 of the law of reduced punishments on the whole states this concept.

Then the single article of this bill was put to a vote. It was not ratified, but rejected.

Bill of Attachment to Article 268 of the Implementary Bylaws of the Customs Affairs Law

Another item on the agenda of the session was the first round of discussions of the bill of attachment to Article 268 of the

implementary bylaws of the customs affairs law, which was raised and discussed.

Mohammad 'Ali Arabi, a member of the economic and finance committee, provided some explanations concerning the bill and said: The bill of attachment to Article 268 of the implementary bylaws of the customs affairs law was examined in this committee and its general points were ratified. Now, a report on its first round of discussions is presented to the Majlis.

Single article. Upon discovery of any kind of offense, before or after the release and delivery of goods from the customs, which results in financial loss for the government and requires the collection of the difference in customs duties or commercial fees or any other sort of tax or costs, according to the case, the fine must be collected in accordance with the appendices to Article 268 of the implementary bylaws of the customs affairs law.

Note. In addition to observing the contents in the appendices of Article 268 of the implementary bylaws of the customs affairs law, in the absence of complete explanations with regard to the characteristics of goods in the statements submitted to customs and also mistakes in calculation which result in financial losses for the government both before and after the release of goods from the customs are discovered, collection of fines from 10 to 100 percent of the difference will be required.

The regulations of this Article are to be implemented from the date of ratification.

Then, the government representative provided some explanations in connection with this bill.

Then, the general points of the bill of attachment to Article 268 of the implementary bylaws of the customs affairs law was put to a vote and ratified.

#### Report of Minister of Heavy Industries

At 10:45, the open session was adjourned for a break. Again, the open session, headed by Mohammad Yazdi, the deputy speaker of the Majlis, was held and Behzad Nabavi, the minister of heavy industries, continued his report to the Majlis concerning the operations of that Ministry since its formation and said:

As was stated in the previous session, about 4,000 agreements, in principle, with an investment volume of 150 billion rials, were issued since the establishment of this Ministry, of which about 120 billion rials were by actual persons in the private sector.



and 30 billion rials by the national industries foundation and those institutions which make investments.

In regards to the amount of this investment, I must say that firstly, the average investment for which an agreement in principle has been issued by the Ministry is 185 million rials. In other words, this is the average investment, and what has been given to the provinces is about 20 million rials. Of this amount in agreements in principle, 37 cases, which total 51 billion rials, concern very large projects, for which the average volume of investment is 1,400 million rials. In terms of the operation of these agreements in principle, so far, 151 cases have reached a final phase, amounting to 20 billion rials. That is, land, electricity and water for these projects have been carried out and have reached the phase of the ordering and installation of machinery. Since the establishment of this Ministry, 681 licenses have been issued, and 419 operational licenses are for small turnery units, which have been established throughout the country.

#### Creation of Parts Manufacturing Units

In addition to these necessary technical support tasks to create 1,828 parts manufacturing and repair support units in the center of provincial cities, districts and various areas of the country, through preparing and offering justified exemplary plans and distribution planning, 10,735 sets of machinery and 12,130 sets of related equipment from domestic production and imports, with the fruitful cooperation of the Ministry of Commerce and the related procurement and distribution center and other executive organizations among the existing and newly established units, 70 units of the above-mentioned 1,828 units, with an investment volume of 24.5 billion rials, have reached operation. Also, we announce to the applicants for investment in this area the completion of 42 studies on the market for highly consumed products related to heavy industries, which is also an important task. We have also completed the technical and economic studies of 12 study projects and the selection of 2 developmental projects for the purpose of implementation, the start of technical and economic studies, and 13 new projects during the 1984-85 year. In this connection, for the first time, we allocated a budget in the Ministry for a series of study projects, that is, before the work begins, extensive studies will be done in this area, which will be sent either to the government or private sectors. Among these are three important projects for a machine tool manufacturing unit, railroad parts production unit, and an industrial die project. One of the important dependencies of the vehicle industry is on die casting. If you complain about the quality of the Peykan, when you look at 1 side which is 5 mm and the other side which is 1 cm, and the doors of the Peykan have to be forced shut, the reason is that the die



get worn out and we must order new ones from abroad. This project is to build industrial dies domestically.

#### Implementation of Projects in the Government Sector

Continuing his report, the minister of industries referred to the work of the government sector and said: Plans are under way in regards to the completion of industrial projects, at an anticipated cost of 20 billion rials during the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985, which is the same amount as the year before, for the incomplete projects of the expansion organization.

An important project in this area is the plan to expand the Arak manufacturing project, which will reach operation in 1985, with a capacity of 30,000 tons.

Also, the combine development project, with 80 percent of each being domestically manufactured and production amounting to 865 units per year, has now begun and will become operational in 1986, whereby about 30 or 40 percent of the combines will be built domestically.

Such projects as the Tabriz foundry project, air tool compressor projects, lift truck manufacturing project, electromotor manufacturing, which is very self-sufficient and of high quality, the production of land diesel motors, machinery for Kerman mines, and ship building will all begin operations in 1985 or 1986 and are in the final phases.

Also, there are 29 existing developmental and completion projects, with an investment volume of 30 billion rials. We created 50 billion rials of investment in development, which is about 8 or 9 times that of the 1981-82 year. The important projects which are underway are the project for the production of road building machines, with a capacity of 4,000 units and about 60 percent domestic production, which will be operational in spring of 1987.

The project to increase bus production, with a daily capacity of 20 chassis and 16 additional buses, was supposed to start operation in January or February of this year, but due to currency problems, it was postponed to April or May. Cargo carrier manufacturing will also be operational by March of 1986. Bus manufacturing is a money-making industry and has additional domestic value.

There is also, the project to increase the production of Benz trucks, the domestic production of which will double, and God willing, this project will be operational by 11 February.

Another is the Iran foundry industries, which involves the manufacturing of truck engines in Iran, with a capacity of about 36,000 engines annually.

#### Establishment of Headquarters for Production Control and Increase

In connection with the production sector, the minister of heavy industries said: In the area of production, with the establishment of the headquarters for production control and increase, and the efforts to control and constantly supervise every moment of the production operation of units and eliminate production problems, which have been mentioned in connection with the activities of the headquarters, and the constant efforts of workers, engineers and managers of the units, the following results have been achieved.

1. A 37 percent increase in the production of factories under supervision on the production level, in accordance with the monthly production value index at a fixed price during the first 9 months of the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985 compared to the period 21 March 1977-20 March 1978.
2. The increase in the production of major private units under supervision: In this connection, the price index of products of this sector increased by 37 percent in 1983 compared to 1982 and 28 percent compared to 1977.
3. Plans to increase the production of vital goods for various economic sectors of the country and the reduction of less necessary products include the increase in the average daily production of combines at 550 percent, agricultural lift trucks at 440 percent, lathes at 130 percent, minibuses at 100 percent, vans at 86 percent, motorcycles at 85 percent, drills at 36 percent, tractors at 34 percent, and buses at 29 percent compared to the period 21 March 1977-20 March 1978. On the other hand, the average daily production of sedans decreased by 51 percent compared to the 1977-78 period. In other words, this shows the direction of the heavy industries, so that you cannot say that we produced only Peykans.
4. Stopping the collection of aid for damages from the government, which during the 1981-82 year amounted to 4,820 million rials for the government sector under supervision. Making this sector profitable through the implementation of necessary planning in favorable operations of the existing capacities and the anticipation of the payment of 10 billion rials to the government treasury from the profits of the 1983-84 year of the units subject to Note 33 of the 1984-85 budget law.

In the conclusion of his report, the minister of heavy industries said: I hereby declare that some people say that the heavy

factories do not help the fronts. I openly announce that our  
will is coupled with contracts. In other words, someone must come  
and engage us. When they came and asked us for contracts, we set  
down all our work. In the Kheybar operations, work in 13 of our  
factories stopped and they worked 3 shifts round-the-clock to  
acquire the necessary equipment. We announce this kind of  
willness and capability once again.

Question by the Representative of Orumiyyeh

In the conclusion of session, 'Ali Abdol'alizadeh, the  
representative of Orumiyyeh, asked a question of the minister of  
economic affairs and finance concerning the reason for the delay  
in carrying out the decisions already made and said: My question  
is to Mr Namazi and the board of directors of the bank of West  
Azarbaijan Province. It goes back to spring of 1983, when there  
were certain differences between the management and some of the  
committed employees of the bank and these differences paralyzed  
the bank from spring of 1983. Although the problem ended in  
January on 24 September 1984 and a fight ensued in the bank  
among the employees, at that time, we contacted the brothers in  
this connection and informed Mr Amir Aslani, the deputy banking  
minister of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, so that  
he could attend to the situation in the bank. On  
20 September 1984, we departed for Orumiyyeh with Mr Amir Aslani,  
Mr Razavi, the general director of the Iran Saderat Bank, two of  
the experts of the Saderat Bank and two of the representatives of  
the province. After investigating the issue, we held a session  
with the general assembly of the provincial bank on 30 September  
from 3:00 to 8:30 in the evening in the Office of the Governor  
General. The final results of the session were as follows:

1. The board of directors and the director general should be  
dismissed within the next 15 days and their replacements be  
appointed.

2. Messrs Mirza'i and Hoseyni should be dismissed from their  
present positions and be demoted.

3. Mr Afshar should be appointed as the special inspector and be  
assigned to the Office of the Governor General.

4. Mrs. Amirani and Mr Rasuli should be reprimanded and  
dismissed.

As for the last three persons--Mrs Amirani, Mr Afshar and Mr Rasuli--  
in the faction opposing the board of directors and Mirza'i  
and Hoseyni were supported by the board of directors and had  
responsibilities conferred on them. I do not want to say  
more than investigations revealed.

Later, we made contact in this connection and were told that they would be changed that day or the next. But they have not been changed yet. Now, I ask the minister of economic affairs and finance to respond to these questions.

#### Response of the Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance

Mr. Z. Nazeri, the minister of economic affairs and finance, responded to the questions asked. He said: As was pointed out, a delegation was sent to Orumiyyeh to investigate this matter, which included Mr 'Abdol'alizadeh, Mr Saduqiani, and the director general and experts of the Saderat Bank. This delegation made investigations and reported the results of the meeting, which I will report to you. I must also inform you that the general assembly of the provincial bank is made up of the governor general, who is the chairman of the general assembly, and 10 other persons who represent 11 persons, including the representatives of the supreme council of the banks and the government, from various ministries, and the chairman of the general assembly is the governor general [as published]. In regards to security questions as to whether persons were used who were connected with certain groups or other security issues, the members know well that the governor general is the head of the security council of the province. Therefore, if the governor general, after investigation, said the persons used are proper and that these persons have been special people, we no longer have to worry about security problems. The governor general of Azarbaijan reported to me and said: We approve them 100 percent. Considering that the provincial banks are usually young, since 1980, we have had a positive and interesting operation in this bank, so that according to the statistics which are available to me here, by September of 1984, 316 agricultural, industrial, mining and services projects, at the amount of 5,720 billion rials of financial credits, have been granted and about 4,000 persons have been employed. The short-term credits and loans of the bank were 3,400 million rials and in another part, 6,500 million rials were short-term credits and 3,800 million rials were long-term loans, which, considering the short period after the bank was established, is a relatively good operation. Therefore, considering that this bank has an assembly which is chaired by the governor general and, in fact, if we want to change the bank director, the suggestion must come to us from the general assembly of the province, after the investigations are done on the individuals that left, the general assembly will give its approval for two years the renewal of the responsibility of the director general and the board of directors. After the statements of the minister of economic affairs and finance, Mr. 'Abdol'alizadeh defended his statements and said that he was not convinced by the explanations of the governor general and referred the matter to the general committee.

The open session of the Majlis ended at 12:25 pm and the session was adjourned until the next day, Sunday, at 8 am.

Our parliamentary correspondent reports that in this session, 1 question and 1 proposal with the signatures of 16 representatives was offered to the Majlis as follows:

The legislative proposal giving the right of guardianship of minor or abandoned children to their mothers.

10,000

CSO: 4640/310

IRAN

#### MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH INDIA

Tehran BURS in Persian 29 Nov 84 p 3

/Text/ Dr Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who is in India as the head of a high-level political, economic and cultural delegation, to attend the second meeting of the Joint Indo-Iranian Commission, signed a memorandum of mutual understanding with India.

The memorandum was signed after 4 days of concentrated negotiations between the authorities of the two countries pertaining to various industrial, technical, commercial, cultural, scientific, educational, agricultural, naval and oil affairs and cooperation in the gathering of news among the new agencies, radio and television of the two countries.

The two countries emphasized the possibilities of greater cooperation in industrial matters and studied ways of cooperation in rural and small-scale industries and the exchange of technology. The two parties also agreed that needed cooperation should take place between the "standard" organizations of the two countries. In regard to the commercial sector, the two parties emphasized the need for an increase in the volume of trade within the framework of competitive terms and satisfactory conditions.

With respect to cultural exchanges, the two countries asked for practical plans of cooperation in educational matters, the exchange of teachers and students and the training of experts. The two parties discussed and agreed upon cooperation among the news, radio and television organizations of the two countries.

In regard to the agricultural sector, the two countries gave favorable consideration to each others' proposals for extending agricultural cooperation and reached an agreement on the matter. The authorities of the two countries discussed consular facilities for their citizens and agreed to provide such necessary facilities.

Before the signing of the memorandum of mutual understanding, Dr Velayati as the representative of Iran, and Dr Arthasirthe who is in charge of the Indian ministry of external affairs, referred to the historical relations and cultural ties between the two countries and noted the importance of wider cooperation and understanding between those two countries which are the important and influential countries of the area. They expressed their pleasure at the completed negotiations and the signed joint decisions which were made jointly.

He will be in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Secretary of the Council  
Coordinating Staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Arrived in the capital  
on Monday together with a number of experts from various ministries.

9863

ISO: 404) 11



IRAN

# PERFORMANCE OF MINISTRY OF ROADS, TRANSPORT DESCRIBED

Tehran BURS in Persian 29 Nov 84 p 8

/Text/ A seminar of the directors of roads and transports from all parts of the country was held with the participation of Mr Nezhad /as published/ Hoseinian, the minister of roads and transport, at the roads and transport building of the district of Hormozgan in Bandar 'Abbas.

According to the IRNA correspondent, the governor of Hormozgan and the directors of roads and transport from all parts of the country participated in the seminar. Following the recitation of verses from the Holy Koran, the deputy minister of roads and transport described the objectives of the seminar arranged by the deputy minister of roads and transport to study road maintenance and coordination between various districts. Mr Nezhad Hoseinian then described the performance of the ministry and its branches since the victory of the glorious Islamic revolution up to the present time. In his speech, the minister referred to the prominent role played by the ministry of roads in the strategic struggles against the agents of world arrogance and said that in recent years, the most important activity of the ministry of roads was on the war fronts and with respect to the border roads. The ministry of roads was thus the most active of all the ministries in providing services for the soldiers and the war.

In regard to the carrying out of district and national plans, Nezhad Hoseinian said, "At present, our biggest problem in road building is the scarcity of credit. The country's road building capacity exceeds the budget allotted to this ministry." The minister added, "Over the last 2 years, 6,000 heavy and light construction equipment have been imported by the ministry of roads; so far, 3,300 pieces of machinery have been distributed among various departments throughout the country. The rest have been sent to the war fronts or were given to road building contractors."

In regard to roads and railways, he said, "The budget of the ministry of roads and transportation during 1983-1984 for the construction and repair of roads and railways was 47 billion rials; but the ministry's credit absorption has been more than 56 billion rials. The departments of roads and transport have utilized 99 percent of the approved budget of 35.5 billion rials for that period."

Mr Hoseinian then stated that in the execution of its duties, the ministry of roads and transport acted in accordance with the constitution, strengthened the government sector and supported the government. Effort was made to extend needed facilities to both sectors. In regard to the current year's performance with respect to the construction of highways, the minister said that road-building projects had been speeded up. In the first 7 months of this year, more than 10 billion rials credit was utilized for the construction of highways. In spite of various problems, more was accomplished this year than the previous year.

9863

CSO: 4640/222

IRAN

COMPLICATIONS IN MOVING CAPITAL TO MAZAR-E SHARIF PREDICTED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 5 Feb 85 p 2

[Editorial: "Mazar Sharif No Safe Haven For Aggressors"]

[Text]

Western media have reported that the Soviets and the Karmal regime are planning to change the capital of Afghanistan to Mazar Sharif, the center of Balkh Province, in northern Afghanistan.

Agence France Press quoting Muslim Afghan revolutionaries has reported that the shift has begun.

If the news is true and the Soviets consider Mazar Sharif as a safe haven for their aggressive forces and those of the Karmal regime, be it due to provision of security, speeding of logistics and strengthening of relations with the Karmal regime from across the Tormoz border situated 60 Kms from Mazar Sharif, then they are committing a mistake for they shall only fan the flames of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan against themselves.

For one thing Mazar Sharif houses a shrine dedicated to Ali (A.S.), the first imam in the Shi'a hierarchy. He is revered by Afghans, and this is sufficient explanation as to why the city cannot become a refuge for the Soviet aggressors. The aura of spirituality existing in the city is incongruent with such inhabitants; it would only serve as another motivating factor for the Muslim Afghan revolutionaries.

In the last five years the Muslim people of Afghanistan with their epic resistance have proved they will not calm down when Mazar Sharif becomes the capital. On the contrary the sharp edge of the blade of the Muslim Afghan nation's resistance has been pointed against aggressive aliens and their local mercenaries who have assaulted the Islamic land of Afghanistan.

If these aggressor camp in any corner of the Islamic soil, they shall become target to the revolutionary attacks of the Muslim people of this land.

From the early days following the 1978 Taraki coup the Muslim Afghan nation expressed their hatred for the Communists and when in 1979 the 130,000-strong Soviet force invaded Afghanistan bringing a third Marxist coup, the 29 provinces revolted. Even now despite bloody and extensive military pressures, massacres, suppression, executions and political plots hatched in complicity with the West, the Islamic uprising continues vigorously throughout Afghanistan.

The brave Muslim people in the central regions of Afghanistan have made that part of the land an unpenetrable fort and are in complete command of the situation. In Herat, Kandahar and other places too, the Muslim people show ample potential for striking blows against the aggressive Soviet army's intentions. No week passes during which an attack does not take place against Soviet and Afghan government troops in Kabul. Two weeks ago the memorial dedicated to Babrak Karmal's coup was annihilated by the Afghan people. The central offices of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan are within range of the revolutionaries' fire from any corner of Kabul.

The strategic Panjsher valley has been literally turned into a cemetery for the dead soldiers and destroyed weapons of the Red Army. During the last five years the Soviets have launched eight attacks, the valley remains a symbol of resistance for the Afghan Islamic Revolution.

In Mazar Sharif itself the Soviet and Karmal regime's military bases have been targeted by the Muslim revolutionaries and destroyed. The passing of Soviet military caravans through the Hindu Kush mountains toward Kabul has never been easy or without heavy casualties.

Hence the shifting of the capital to Mazar Sharif which comes on the eve of "Red Flower Celebration", a traditional festival of the Balkh people, resembles more a flight. The transfer of Soviet forces to the north of the Hindu Kush and particularly to Mazar Sharif, is similar to what the Zionist forces have been forced to do in southern Lebanon. To the

south of the Hindu Kush, the overall position of the Soviet forces is deteriorating. In most of the northern Hindu Kush areas, too, like Balkh, Kandahar, Samangan and Farab the aggressive forces are living in a network of fear, terror and death and many times these forces cannot even guard the gas pipes which run from Shabarghan to the Soviet Union.

Because of this none of the three objectives which Agence France Presse has considered for making Mazar Sharif the capital, hold water. So far as the Muslim revolutionaries are concerned, Mazar Sharif can never be a peaceful haven for the Soviet aggressor.

CSO: 4000/262

IRAN

UN DELEGATION INFORMED OF IRANIAN TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN IRAQ

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 16 Jan 80 p 1

[Text] Hoseyn Kazemur-Ardabili, the deputy for international and economic affairs of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, explained the request of the Islamic Republic of Iran for a UN delegation going to Iraq to investigate the situation with regard to Iranian missing persons and prisoners in that country yesterday afternoon in a news conference.

Speaking to domestic and foreign reporters, he said: The Islamic Republic of Iran believes that the delegation must continue its work in a calm environment, devoid of any poisonous propaganda. Creating a propaganda atmosphere will not help improve the situation of the prisoners.

He said: Considering that some of the representatives of the Red Cross in Iran have been influential in creating the Gorgan incident, we hope that the Red Cross will apologize for the behavior of some of its agents in Iran and take steps to change the makeup of its agency personnel in Tehran. Referring to the incident of the Iraqi prisoner of war camp in Gorgan, he said: Following the publication of the news of the Gorgan incident, which was less than perfect, and given that the Red Cross did not observe neutrality, and the propaganda which followed this report by the regime of Iraq and some international sources, we felt a threat in regards to the Iranian prisoners in Iraq which might be imposed, taking advantage of the propaganda against them. Therefore, we welcomed an inspection of both sides by the United Nations. Also, because we frequently pointed out some of the violations of the United Nations to the Red Cross and they were ineffective, we welcome the UN delegation to investigate the situation of the prisoners in Iraq. He added: We are happy with the investigation of the attitude of the officials of the two countries towards the prisoners, because we are sure of our good treatment of the Iraqi prisoners and are also aware of the mistreatment of the Iranian prisoners by the Iraqi officials.



Expressing hope that as a result of these investigations, the situation of the prisoners will improve, he said: A delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran made up of individuals who are in charge of the Iraqi prisoners met with a delegation of the secretary general of the United Nations in Geneva last week and pointed out certain violations of international laws by Iraq and their mistreatment of Iranian prisoners in order that they be carefully investigated.

#### The Situation of Missing Persons

Kazemour-Ardabili said in this regard: The Islamic Republic of Iran has asked for these issues to be carefully investigated. First is the issue of the missing persons, of whom a list of more than 20,000 has been given to the delegation. Previously, we had submitted a list of more than 10,000 to the human rights commission and asked the UN secretary general delegation to investigate their situation. Here, I must say that the International Red Cross has not taken any steps in regards to these 10,000 people.

He added: The issue of the missing persons is a serious, open violation of international standards.

In this connection, the Red Cross report points out that hundreds of Iranian prisoners of war are kept hidden from them. Many of the prisoners were forced to do interviews on Iraqi radio and television and their pictures and biographies have been published in the press of some countries without the inclusion of their names on the list of prisoners.

#### Secret Camps

The second problem is the investigation of secret camps which exist in Iraq. The Red Cross report indicates that between the two visits, some of the prisoners are taken to unidentified spots.

Camps such as "Abu Gharib," near Baghdad, and camps in the city of "'Ammareh" and "Arbil" are kept out of view of the Red Cross officials.

Third is the examination of the situation of civilian prisoners and refugees, which includes a large number of occupied cities who have been transferred to Iraq as prisoners. The deputy for economic and international affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said in this regard: One report by the Red Cross explicitly refers to this issue and states: Thousands of civilian Iranians have been taken to Iraq from the Provinces of Khuzestan and Kurdistan, which is a direct and blatant violation of the Geneva Convention. An examination of the list of the

names of war prisoners shows that of 7,800 Iranian prisoners, 1,500 are civilians. Also, of 427 prisoners who have been released as a result of the pressure of public opinion in Iraq, 235 persons were elderly civilians. Four sisters of the Red Crescent rescuers, who were taken as prisoners early in the war, were finally registered after three years during which they were hidden from the Red Cross, and after one more year, Iraq was forced to release them. In regards to other captive rescuers of the Red Crescent, no information is available.

#### Mistreatment of Prisoners

Kazemour-Ardabili continued: The fourth issue is the mistreatment, physical and psychological torture and imposition of political ideas on the prisoners. Systematic beating and humiliation of the Iranian prisoners is carried out and thus far, numerous cases of torturers of our prisoners have been reported by the Red Cross. The fugitive terrorists from Iran impose their ideas on the prisoners in the camps for Iranian prisoners.

The reports of the Red Cross even specifically refer to torture chambers.

#### Massacres

The fifth issue is massacres. These massacres are reflected in the Red Cross reports. For example, according to a report dated 19 November 1982, in the "Musel-2" camp, in a clash, the Iraqi guards martyred 3 Iranian prisoners and wounded about 80 of them. Also, on 25 July 1982, in "Musel-1" camp, 2 Iranian prisoners were martyred and 12 were injured in a clash.

He added: Numerous suspicious deaths of Iranian prisoners in Iraq have been mentioned in the reports. The causes of the deaths have been cited as cracked heads and broken ribs, arms and legs, which did not exist when they were captured and registered.

He added: The regime of Iraq regularly leaves the wounded combatants on the fronts or martyrs them. For this reason, the number of wounded who have been registered as the Iraqi prisoners is higher than that of wounded Iranian prisoners. One of the high ranking Red Cross officials has said after meeting and speaking with an Iranian official: This is a strange war, for one side has so many and the other side so few wounded persons. The sixth point concerns the living and hygienic environment of the Iranian prisoners in Iraq. The situation of food, cleanliness, dormitories, toilets and sinks is improper and unpleasant and the prisoners have constantly expressed their concerns in this regard. The seventh point is the situation with regard to the captivity of Engineer Tondquvan, the Iranian minister of petroleum, and his companions. Iraq officially

announced the capture of this group; Iraq television has shown them many times; and there are reports that they are regularly tortured. Despite all this, Iraq has kept them out of sight of the Red Cross.

He said: The last important point which was mentioned to the above-mentioned delegation for investigation is the captivity of the Red Crescent personnel. Despite international treaties such as the Geneva Convention, 40 doctors and rescue workers of the war zones are in Iraqi captivity. There are also other instances of the violation of international regulations, such as interference with religious obligations, plunder of prisoners' property, censorship of prisoners' messages, prohibition of delivery of packages, and other issues imposed by the Iraqis.

He then said: On the whole, we have avoided engaging in propaganda in regards to these violations. Although we have sufficient and decisive documentation from the Red Cross, we have never published them because, considering the sensitivity of the issue of the prisoners and its human aspects, in order to protect the interests of the prisoners, we have tried to make efforts to improve the quality of their situation.

Concerning the position of the Red Cross in regards to Iran, he said: The statements and positions of some of the Red Cross officials which reveal the lack of neutrality of this organization have changed our hopes to despair and disappointment.

Then he responded to one of the reporters, who asked: What guarantee exists that following the investigations of this delegation the situation of the Iranian prisoners will change? He said: The Islamic Republic of Iran has constantly witnessed the violation of human and international regulations by the regime of Iraq and we have tried to limit these violations as much as possible.

Concerning the effects on Iranian public opinion against the Red Cross with the publication of the UN report, he said: We believe that this depends on the way the report is prepared and on the reporting of the facts observed by the delegation in both countries. Naturally, we will put all the resources at their disposal in order to ensure the preparation of a realistic report. In conclusion, he said:

We consider the cooperation of the UN secretary general in other cases of violations of international laws by Iraq as positive positions. This was in two cases of violations of international regulations, first, in the destruction and bombing of residential areas and the other instance was in regards to the use of chemical weapons by the regime of Iraq. We received positive reports from the United Nations in both cases and we have maintained our hopes in regards to the preparation of realistic reports by the delegation of the UN secretary general.

IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER COMMENTS ON NEW PRESS BILL

London KEYHAN in Persian 31 Jan 85 p 10

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Simultaneous with the issuance of the announcement of the international press institute in regards to the strangulation of the press in Iran and several other countries, including Iraq and Libya, and the escalation of strangulation in these countries, the Islamic Republic ratified the general points of a bill according to which press strangulation was legislated.

According to the press bill, the general points of which were ratified by the Islamic Majlis last week, only those presses are permitted to publish that are totally at the disposal of the regime of the Islamic Republic and who have not been given the slightest right of criticism. In a 38-article press bill, even commercial announcements will be under the control of the Ministry of Guidance. Article 2 of this bill states: "The mission that is given to the press is only to advance the aims that have been expressed in the Islamic Constitution."

Other points that are stated in the article are:

Fighting against the manifestations of the colonialist culture (wastefulness, extravagance, love of luxury, spreading prostitution, etc.) and propagation of authentic Islamic culture and moral virtues.

Preserving and strengthening the policy (of neither East nor West).

Every press must have a share in the attainment of one of the above-mentioned points without being in any way in conflict with any other point and to be on the course of the Islamic Republic.

Each issue of a publication must indicate its affiliation with a party, group or society or its independence next to the name of

the publication. Deviation from doing so will be considered lack of truthfulness.

#### Disruption of Islamic Injunctions

Chapter 3 of the bill states:

Publications are free, except in cases of disrupting Islamic foundations and injunctions and public rights, which are explained below.

Publication of heretical and deviant matters, propagation and spreading of subjugationist and colonialist policies and issues which harm the foundations of the Islamic Republic.

Spreading prostitution and prohibited acts and publishing photographs, pictures and other matters offensive to public chastity.

Propagation and spreading debauchery, love of luxury and wastefulness, efforts to consumerize the society and spreading foreign goods.

Creation of conflicts between the social strata in any form, particularly through raising racial or linguistic issues or issues concerning customs.

Instigating and encouraging persons and groups to commit acts against the security, dignity or interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran within or outside the country.

Revealing or publishing of secret military orders, secrets of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic, military maps or strongholds or publishing secret negotiations of the Majlis, Justice Department courts or the investigations of judicial authorities without permission.

Insulting the sacred religion of Islam and what is held sacred by it and also insulting the great leader and source of emulation.

Slandering and insulting the authorities, institutions, organizations or any person in the country, even through the publication of pictures or caricatures.

Plagiarism and also quoting from deviant anti-Islamic presses, parties and groups (domestic or foreign) in any manner that propagates them.

Chapter 4 of the press bill concerns the procedure for establishing a publication, which states:



Publications which are the responsibility of actual or legal persons are permitted with Iranian investments under the following conditions:

Commitment to the mission of the press.

Favorable economic conditions for printing and publishing, such as printing and publication equipment, are sufficiently available.

Obligation to observe the Constitution.

Permit from the Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

The licensed applicant must meet the following requirements:

Iranian citizenship.

At least 25 years of age.

Lack of penal conviction based on Islamic standards which cause the deprivation of social rights.

Not having been bankrupt through fraud or guilt.

Moral competence and possession of political and social duty.

Having at least a bachelor's degree or certificate of completion from a theological center with sufficient scholarly competence, in both cases determined by the committee mentioned in this law.

Should the applicant be a legal person, two persons as manager and chief editor who meet the six requirements in this article must be presented. Obviously, this will not remove responsibility from the legal person vis-a-vis the publication.

The applicant is responsible vis-a-vis the general policy of the publication, whether an actual or legal person. The chief editor is responsible for matters that are printed in the publication, and the responsibility for other affairs in connection with the publication belongs to the manager and the applicant.

Political parties, societies, and establishments which have been registered may apply for publication permits, provided they present a manager who meets the requirements to be legally responsible in regards to the regulations in this law.

Studying the applications for the issuance of licenses and the competence of the applicant, responsible manager and chief editor is the duty of a committee supervising the press, made up of

competent persons who are loyal to the Islamic revolution of Iran as follows:

One magistrate from the Supreme Court appointed by the Supreme Judicial Council.

A Majlis representative proposed by the guidance committee and approved by the Majlis.

The minister of Islamic guidance or his deputy, without having a vote in this committee.

One of the religious scholars informed on the issues of the time, introduced by the board of instructors of Qom theological center.

A university professor appointed by the supreme university council.

A representative of the managers and directors of the press.

After the necessary studies, the supervisory committee declares its opinion for the final decision to the minister of Islamic guidance.

Whenever it finds it necessary, the supervisory council may reexamine the license privileges of a publication and if the publication no longer meets the necessary requirements, it may revoke its license, with consideration for the other articles of this law.

The Ministry of Islamic Guidance is obliged to examine the publications regularly and report the results to the committee. If necessary, the committee will announce the results of this investigation on radio and television and make them available to the people.

Publications are not permitted to print commercial announcements which include the praise of goods and services, except if one of the official, legal research centers of the country engages in raising and encouraging the producers of goods or those who offer services.

The announcement page must be identified and organized in such a form that similar goods and services are placed next to each other.

Every newspaper or magazine must prepare sealed accounting books in accordance with the law, register all its expenditures and revenues in them, and send its annual balance sheet to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. Whenever it finds it necessary,



the Ministry of Islamic Guidance may inspect the financial records of the establishments.

All presses are obliged to inform the Ministry of Islamic Guidance in the writing of their monthly circulation sales.

#### In Military Court

In the fifth chapter of the bill, which concerns press offenses, certain privileges are granted to the Majlis representatives and electoral candidates. Article 18 of the press bill states:

Should matters concerning a person (both actual and legal), including insult and slander or untruth, be observed in the press, the concerned party may send his response in writing within one month to the same publication.

Responses of candidates in the course of elections must be published in the first issue of the publication after they are received, provided the response has been submitted and received at least six hours before the publication goes to press.

Persons who reveal and publish secret military orders, military or Guards Corps secrets, or the maps of military strongholds during war or peace time in one of the presses will be sent to the military court to be dealt with in accordance with regulations.

Anyone who explicitly instigates or encourages the people through the press to commit an offense or a crime against the domestic or foreign security of the country, which has been anticipated in the general penal law, if it has any effect, will be condemned to punishment for complicity in that offense, and if it does not have any effect, he will be condemned to 3-6 months of jail or the payment of 100,000-300,000 rials in cash.

In the section concerning press offenses, in regards to insulting the Islamic religion and the leaders of the regime, including the president, in addition to monetary penalties, physical punishments, including flogging, have also been prescribed. Also, in the bill, certain precautions have been taken to allow survivors of regime officials to sue the press after the death of those officials. Article 23 of the press bill states:

Anyone who insults the religion of Islam or what is held sacred by it, if it results in apostasy, will be treated in accordance with the regulations for apostates, and if it does not result in apostasy, he will be sentenced to a maximum of 70 lashes and a disciplinary jail sentence of 3 months to 3 years.

Should the leader or the leadership council of the Islamic Republic of Iran be insulted in a publication, the license of that publication will be revoked and the managing director, chief editor and writer will each be sentenced to 40-70 lashes and 61 days to 24 months of a disciplinary jail sentence.

Investigation of these offenses does not depend on a complaint by a private plaintiff.

The publication of photographs, pictures and matters contrary to the public chastity is prohibited.

The publication of secret (non-public) discussions of the Majlis and Justice Department courts or judicial sources which are prohibited by law to be revealed is also prohibited. In case of violations, the publications will be banned for 1-3 months and the offender will be sentenced to 3-6 months of disciplinary imprisonment or 30-60 lashes.

The publication of any matter, including accusations, slander, insults, obscenities, or abusive statements and the like directed at persons is prohibited. The offender will be sentenced to a maximum of 70 lashes and the prosecution of the above-mentioned offenses will depend on the complaint of a private plaintiff. If the complaint is withdrawn, the prosecution will stop at whatever stage it is in.

Whenever the publication of matters mentioned in the above Article concerns deceased persons, but the insult is considered to be directed against his survivors, each of the legal heirs may register their claim for punishment or rights in accordance with the above article and note. Anyone who falsely introduces in his publication a person as the owner of the publication license, managing director or chief editor, or engages in publishing without a license will be sentenced to 3-6 months imprisonment and 20-50 lashes.

From the date of the ratification of this legislative proposal, all contrary laws are voided and the Ministry of Islamic Guidance is charged with its implementation.

In the new press bill, on the basis of which all previous laws have been abolished, for the first time in the history of the Iranian and world press, flogging has been included as punishment.

The ratification of the new law, which will be implemented upon the approval of the Council of Guardians, has astonished many of the observers of the affairs of the Republic. Not even up to a month ago could it have been imagined that the bill under discussion would be ratified in its present form.

In this bill, in practice, only those may be granted permission to publish a newspaper or a magazine who have religious jurisprudential education and specialization. In other words, more than 99 percent of the previous and present journalists of Iran will not be able to obtain a license, whereas a rural cleric may become the concessionaire of a magazine or other publication.

At the present time as well, the control of nearly all the important publications is in the hands of the clerics. Ayatollah Mir 'Ali Musavi-Khamene'i, the president, is the concessionaire of JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI; ETTELA'AT is under the supervision of Ayatollah Do'a'i; and KEYHAN of Tehran is controlled by Ayatollah Khatami, the minister of Islamic guidance.

Even the supporters of the regime of the "religious guardian" have expressed their dismay at the ratification of this bill. It is said that some of the members of the "Council of Guardians" also do not like the bill in its present form.

The bill is designed completely from the standpoint of the police and it can openly be seen that its main objective is to establish "legal" strangulation. Meanwhile, many of the points anticipated in the bill are quite mute. In many instances, no legal definition for an "offense" is provided in the bill.

For instance, "the publication of heretical or deviant matters" is a phrase which can be quite stretched. The phrase, "instigating and encouraging . . . to commit actions against the security, prestige and interests of the Islamic Republic . . . within or outside the country," may also be interpreted in any way which is deemed necessary.

Another amazing point is that the Republic apparently does not even trust the present press, which has been urged a thousand times and tries to prepare new "legal" chains for them.

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CSO: 4640/327

IRAN

#### BRIEFS

LAMB DEAL CONCLUDED--The final negotiations for the Meat Board's \$300 million lamb-for-oil barter deal with Iran have been completed with the sale of 6 million barrels of oil. The Meat Board had to find an oil buyer in order to wrap up the deal. The board's assistant manager, Mr Mick Calder, could not say yesterday who had bought the oil - only that it was a northern hemisphere country. The oil price was favourable and covered the price of between 120,000 and 130,000 tonnes of New Zealand lamb, he said. The board announced the deal early in December, saying the oil barter was expected to be completed within two to three weeks. The oil would be sold to an international operator and proceeds lodged in a bank, said the board's deputy chairman, Mr Norman McRae. The board would draw on funds as soon as the meat was delivered. The board negotiated the first lamb-for-oil barter with Iran in 1982. However, payments from Iran were late and questions were raised over the deal for 66,000 tonnes of lamb. Delays in the delivery of oil were responsible for the late payments, Mr McRae said. The first refrigerated vessel to carry lamb to Iran is due to dock in New Zealand this week. [Christchurch THE PRESS in English 10 Jan 85 p 2]

CSO: 4600/262

PAKISTAN

U.S. RELATIONS WITH INDIA HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Karachi JANG in Urdu 6 Jan 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Mr Gandhi's Visit to the United States"]

[Text] Reliable sources from India bring the news of Mr Gandhi's planned visit to France and the United States next June. This will be his first foreign tour after assuming office as prime minister of India. His meeting with M. Mitterrand has its importance, but the chief purpose of his tour is to meet Mr Reagan and have a talk with him. Western political circles in New Delhi think that India wants to have closer relations with the United States. The TIMES OF INDIA, a distinguished newspaper, has said that Mr Rajiv Gandhi will talk about the cooperation of the two countries in the fields of agriculture and industry. An important foreign press agency has said that the two leaders will discuss, among other things, the situation in South Asia and Indian-Pakistani relations. The visitor will come from South Asia and is known to have strong objections to U.S. policies in this region. It would not be wrong, therefore, to suppose that the basic topic for discussion will be U.S. policy in South Asia and its effects on political relations between the United States and India.

After the assassination of Mrs Gandhi, political circles the world over said that the United States would try to woo India away from Soviet influence. The United States began a campaign for this purpose immediately after Mrs Gandhi's death. The delegation that went to Mrs Gandhi's funeral signed an agreement to give India know-how on important technology about which the United States had had mental reservations in the past. After that, American efforts continued and at last culminated in the present announcement that Mr Rajiv Gandhi would visit the United States. This is a great victory for U.S. diplomacy, and the United States is expected to make the most of this opportunity to attract Mr Gandhi to its own friendship.

The Indian-U.S. relationship is not our business, but India is our neighbor and its relations with Pakistan have a long history. India has renewed its relationship with the United States in connection with Afghanistan, and both have executed some economic and defense pacts in this connection. India has long criticized U.S.-Pakistani relations, and this attitude continues even following Mrs Gandhi's demise. The latest news in this connection is the interview given by Mr Rajiv Gandhi to a TV team from Bulgaria in which he

expressed his concern at the situation in the Indian Ocean and the so-called military buildup in India's neighboring country. He said that tension and instability were mounting in the region. He said that India's neighbor was receiving heavy military equipment, which was much more than it needed. The Voice of America also attributed similar words to the young Indian prime minister, adding that he also repeated India's accusation that Pakistan interfered in India's internal affairs by helping the Sikh hijackers with arms and ammunitions.

Noting the antagonistic attitude of India, Pakistan cannot be unconcerned about U.S.-Indian relations since their mutual relations can have an adverse effect on Pakistan's safety and welfare. The arms sale pact that the United States has made with Pakistan is a purely business deal, and Pakistan has fulfilled all of its obligations under it. Pakistan even refused to accept lower interest rates, in order to protect its independence. For all that, if there is a change in U.S. policy toward Pakistan, it could have dangerous implications for us. Let us hope the United States will not let its new friendship with India affect its agreements with Pakistan. The Reagan administration has always in the past honored its pacts, despite internal and external pressures, and there is no reason to suppose that its attitude will change now. Still it is in our interests to keep in view the policies of our friends as well as of our antagonists. If we discern anything that could harm our interests, we should revise our policies accordingly. We expect that our foreign ministry is watching the situation keenly and will make plans to protect the national interests.

12476

CSO: 4656/67



## PAKISTAN

## COMING ELECTIONS ONLY 'PRACTICE', REAL ELECTIONS IN 1987

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Dec 84 pp 1, 10

[Excerpt] In an interview today, Pir Pagara said that the coming year will be a good one. In the coming year, President Ziaul Haq will make a speech, talks will be held on a constitution and elections will be announced. The announcement of elections will also mean an achievement for us. Then we also will hold talks. At the moment, the burden of the old year has not lifted. With the new year will come new developments. The new year will pass well because President Zia will no longer be the martial law administrator; he will be president of the nation. Women will get some rights and the press will gain a little freedom. To a question, he replied that Haneef Roy could be the next prime minister of Pakistan. After all, he was a green card holder and the government has called him from America solely for this purpose. At the end of the interview he reiterated his belief that Haneef Roy would be the next prime minister. Pir Sahib said that there must be some reason why the landlord has been called from America, where he was comfortably making good money and delivering lectures. There must be some reason why he has taken this apparently illogical step. If the government requests our services, we will lend it Mohammad Khan Jakhu to become prime minister. When his attention was drawn to reports that the next prime minister will be from Sind, Pir Sahib said that Punjab is the most important province and therefore it is not necessary for the prime minister to be a Sindhi. When One Unit was established it was said that the prime minister should be from one of the smaller provinces, but later people from Punjab, too, began to become prime ministers. Pir Sahib said that President Zia will step down from his extension of service. He will retire from the army and become an immigrant. Since he is not a Punjabi but only an immigrant, the prime minister can also be chosen from Punjab. When asked what his reaction would be if he were offered the prime ministership in his capacity as a Sindhi politician, he replied that he was absolutely not prepared to suffer political martyrdom. When asked if apart from himself and Mr Jatoi there was any other personality who could be made prime minister, he said that there were after all Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur and Mr Barvi. When his attention was drawn to the point that he had many followers in Sind, he asked how many followers Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had when he was made a minister by Sikander Mirza. In answer to a question, he wondered when he asked that Mr Jatoi be made the prime minister; it is the press that says that. When we are talking of a fourth martial law,

what sensible person would accept the offer of prime ministership? As for Asghar Khan, a man who would be the prime minister is not kept under house arrest. Any one who gets himself arrested every now and then might also get the assembly arrested. Pir Pagara said that the new national assembly will be the supreme institution in the country. If there are no politicians and no political parties how will this body qualify to be the national assembly? It is for the press to find out which ministry this supreme body will have to deal with so that both you and we can establish rapport with it. An election is for political parties or for a political system. It has a purpose. From our point of view, this is not an election in the real sense but only a vote about personalities. Pir Pagara made it clear that in the eyes of the Muslim League next year's elections are not political elections but only "practice." Elections will be in 1987, for which the Muslim League has already given a pledge. We are and we will remain the only true political opposition. Those who joined the cabinet did not do so in their political capacity but only for the experience. We took part in the referendum so that our voters should get practice for the next elections. When the third martial law ends and the fourth begins, people will come to realize how far MRD people are their well-wishers. Pir Paraga said that the success of President Zia in the referendum is largely due to MRD, which in fact is in collusion with the government. To a question, he said that by boycotting the referendum, the MRD proved that it was dead. It confirmed my view that MRD is nothing but a "bathroom." It is fond of holding meetings, but what is the good of meetings? Meetings are also held at the United Nations, but what good comes out of them? If MRD were really interested in intensifying the political process, it should not have boycotted the referendum. When it adopted the politics of "no" on every issue, then on whose behalf was the boycott of the referendum undertaken? In fact, it should have taken advantage of the atmosphere generated by the referendum, and it should have told the Election Commission that at the time of polling its representatives should also be present. As a result, votes could have been challenged and the angels put in trouble. He said the old practices of 1973 ended with the imposition of a constitution and attempts to revive it are a waste of time. If there has to be a proposal for restoring the constitution then why not propose restoration of the older model, the constitution of 1956. He said that on coming to power, the Muslim League will enforce a new constitution. It will not get bogged down in old controversies.

12286

CSO: 4656/63

PAKISTAN

POLITICIANS, PRESS SHARE BLAME FOR FAILURE OF FREEDOMS

Karachi JANG in Urdu 1 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "Disagreement Between the Politicians and the Press"]

[Excerpt] Retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan, leader of the defunct Tahrik-e Istiqlal, complained recently that our press is not free and that journalists lack courage. He said that since these people lack the guts to report the truth, he would in the future give interviews only to the reporters of the foreign press. One newspaper has taken exception to the air marshal's remarks and posed a counterattack by asking him what the politicians stated that when the politicians are in power they begin to clamor for the freedom of the press. This counterattack is quite valid against other politicians but since the air marshal has never so far been in power, we cannot accuse him of gagging the press. We can only guess what his attitude would be if he ever became a part of the government. From our long experience of the brutal repression exercised by those in the government, we hope that the air marshal's attitude would be a little better than that of the ones the newspaper has complained against. It is a fact that at no time in this country have those at the helm given due respect to the freedoms of the press and of speech. There have been some sort of restrictions on freedom of the press at every period in our history. Perhaps it would be truer to say that the worst sort of restrictions have always existed, and on rare occasions these were relaxed a little. The press is no doubt a great force, but "great force" is a relative term. When a great force has to face a greater force, the great force becomes a small force. When the country is being ruled by an all-powerful regime, with unlimited prerogatives, neither the press nor any other institution cannot show its power, especially when the press cannot present a united front owing to internal rivalries and factions.

It is true that like any other institution in the country, the press has its own share of faults, but it is unfair to single out the press and call it the culprit. The politicians have their faults and the government has its vested interests. This society is the sum total of all that we have made it. If it is to be reformed, everybody belonging to every institution will have to play his part in rebuilding it. If politicians talk about freedom of speech and the press when they are out of power and begin to advocate "constructive"

and "responsible" criticism when they assume power, the traditions of freedom of the press and of speech cannot take root. No elements in our nation have done justice to this country, and none is above blame. The more powerful a class of people is the more far-reaching effects its decisions will have on the country. Those at the helm have not done their duty to the country, hence the nation is not where it should be. The journalists and the politicians are in the same boat. It is no use blaming each other. The politicians want the journalists to fight their battles for them, while the journalists expect politicians to do things that under the present circumstances are not in their power to do.

12476

CSO: 4656/66

PAKISTAN

# POLITICIANS' COMPLAINTS AGAINST NEWSPAPERS DEBATED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Dec 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Politician's Complaint Against Newspapers']

[Text] While addressing a meeting in Lahore in connection with Quaid-e Azam's birthday, two leaders of the MRD, Nawabzadah Nasrullah Khan and Malik Mohammad Qasim, made the newspapers a target of strong criticism. Issuing a sort of warning in their complaint, they said that the newspapers claim that they are under pressure, but the politicians are being pressured, too. We also know how to boycott. However, we do not wish to take this step right now. The only thing we ask of the newspapers is that if they cannot publish our news, they should also refrain from publishing the administration's news.

This complaint of these politicians is not something new or strange. These days, they are advancing on the path to a boycott. They are also boycotting the political process, which according to the confrontational situations, demands to actions of prudence and forbearance. At first they boycotted the referendum, and now they are indicating they may boycott the forthcoming elections. However, it does not seem improper to say that even if they are not responsible for all of the conditions they are complaining so bitterly about, so their part in bringing them about also cannot be ignored. If this is not an irony, what is it? The same administration that they advise the newspapers not to publish news about, when it was initially welcomed included their nominated representatives as ministers. The other basic but extremely essential matter being overlooked by Nawabzadah Sahib is that our history of politics, despite a very lengthy struggle for the restoration of democracy, has been, along with the indiscretions, selfishness and unprincipledness of the politicians, a very tormenting story of the willfulness also of the rulers of the time. If the movement whose important leader Nawabzadah is today ever gets an opportunity to come into power, its course of action and mode of conduct will be the same as the one he is severely criticizing today. The major part of this movement consists of that former ruling party during whose rule the treatment given to politicians of the opposition, to say nothing of the newspapers, was such that even the word "impermissible" seems too gentle for it. In view of the kind of elements that comprise this party, and the ideology it espouses, it can be said without any fear of refutation that if it attains the reins of power, the country and the people will certainly suffer. Nawabzadah Sahib is participating and cooperating with it for the sake of

restoring democracy, but instead of bearing in mind its basic and distinctive values and practices, the party will pursue only one goal, and that will be revenge! Otherwise, there will be a repetition of that very exploitation that had become customary to it during its former reign.

Like these politicians, even more than them, is the complaint lodged by the founder of the Tahrik-e Istiqlal, Air Marshal (Retired) Asghar Khan. He claims that Pakistan's newspapers do not enjoy freedom. They lack courage and they cannot publish accurate news. In the future, therefore, he will not grant any interviews to the Pakistani newspapers. Instead, he will talk to foreign newspaper representatives only. We are unable to say how much truth and reality are behind the words attributed to Mr Asghar Khan. Nevertheless, these words, to great extent, reflect his temperament and nature or disposition, which he has demonstrated since entering active politics the last 15 to 16 years. As a believer in democracy and as an important flag-bearer of the opposition, he has fought back with all kinds of extremes, with great courage and bravery. In his book "Generals in Politics," he has also described in great detail the extremely unlawful treatment he received during the reign of the former ruling party. During the current administration's era, too, he has spent more than 5 years under house arrest. Nevertheless, with regard to the complaint he has lodged with the Pakistani newspapers, it does not seem unjustified to say that "If someone makes an unreasonable complaint to you, it is essential for you to act wisely." He has also accomplished his passion for journalism by publishing a periodical called AZAD. If he still has any regrets, why doesn't he acquire leadership of his party organ HAIDER? Now with regard to Mr Malik Mohammad Qasim's remark, it seems sufficient to say that he received his initial political training and upbringing under the shadow of the personal dictatorship of the late Ayub Khan. Later on, he, too, no doubt suffered many hardships, the major element of which was the "kindness" of the former ruling party, for whose campaign to demand democracy he acts as a spokesman today.

If the role played by the newspapers in Pakistan does not inspire pride, they are not so defective and inferior either that they can be held responsible for every wrongdoing or that only the politicians can claim to be successful in touting democracy. In a newly independent and developing country like Pakistan, as a result of obstructions that have been inflicted on the democratic political process for various reasons, the newspapers have had to face much more difficulties than the politicians. This pattern continues. In short, it can be said that due to these circumstances and difficulties, the newspapers have been held more responsible than is justified for the weaknesses and helplessness that national politics faces today. Looking at the 37-year history of Pakistan, we see that only during the initial era of Quaid-e Azam and then during the period of the late Chaudhri Mohammed Ali and the martyr Hussain Sehrawardi was the existence of the newspapers tolerated. Their criticisms also were endured. In all other eras, the newspapers were advised to "write positive and constructive criticism" only. As a penalty for not obeying orders, the newspapers were always made a target of punishment and revenge. The newspapers do not function in a vacuum; they strive to meet their responsibilities in the environment and atmosphere that is created jointly by the rulers of the time and opposing politicians. The thing that is most striking about their course



of action is not that they fall short but that they lack tolerance. The rulers would like to be lauded and acclaimed in all things and have no news about the opposition published. Their opposition, on the other hand, expects that in all circumstances they should be granted full and unconditional support and patronage. Every wrong policy of theirs should be defended, and every meaningless statement of theirs should be outlined in detail. The problem that this bilateral and strong pressure of opposite expectations has created for the newspapers can be felt but not described. The newspapers, however, under such unfavorable conditions, continue to try to perform their duty. Whatever effort is being made to fill, to some extent, the huge vacuum that has been created in national life due to the gap in the democratic political process, which has resulted in the nonexistence and unauthorization of basic institutions--the parliament, a free judiciary, political parties, etc.--it is limited to the newspapers alone. At present, only the newspapers, by identifying the people's problems and deprivations (according to their traditions, courage, audacity and belief), are also interpreting their feelings as well. Properly enough, the "democratic-minded" politicians who complain against the role of the newspapers, have their complaints, too, brought before the people through the very newspapers that they declare to be at fault; it is these politicians who deserve to be beheaded.

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CSO: 4656/64

PAKISTAN

FREE ELECTIONS IN INDIA, SEEN ON TV, BRING ENVY

Karachi JANG in Urdu 1 Jan 85 p 3

[Abdul Qadir column: "Nonpolitical Affairs": "When Will I Dance With Glee?"]

[Excerpt] People in Lahore can watch Indian TV when something special is happening in India. I, too, committed that "sin" by watching Jallundhar TV during the Indian elections. For a sensitive Pakistani like me it was enviable to see the elections taking place according to the normal rules of democracy. The voters were at liberty to vote for whomever they thought fit to head their government. These voters had helped to defeat Indira Gandhi, and now they were giving her inexperienced son a landslide victory. This is the most attractive thing about democracy. Such elections make a nation strong and invincible. I watched Indian TV and my heart bled for my countrymen who have been deprived of the right to vote as they see fit. I wished we had a government that was established by our choice and worked for our good. We would be proud of such a government and would be glad to make sacrifices for it. Now look at what is happening in our country. I am told that there is a shortage of electric power, hence some parts of the city will be without electric power for some hours. I do not mind having darkness in my house if it would help to light up some other part of my country. The newspapers publish the schedule of electric outages in different areas. I gladly schedule my own activities accordingly. According to the notice published by WAPDA, there was to be a power outage in our area between 11 and 12 am. But this outage was canceled and another scheduled without notice. When I telephoned to ask them about the new schedule, I was told that the electricity would come and go at intervals. I asked them at what intervals, but they gave me no answer. Hence this article was written in three sittings, and my ideas became quite disconnected. All this leads me to suppose that perhaps we have lost the capacity for doing anything competently. How can we manage elections which need a lot more self-restraint and a sense of responsibility?

The success of our opponents and our own weakness make my heart sore. Both countries got their freedom together. One got democracy and the other cannot even schedule electricity outages. Indian TV seemed to be trying to make me feel jealous. Sometimes they showed me the polling booths, and sometimes they took me inside the TV studios where the experts compared the current elections with those that took place 4 years before. They were telling us

that a candidate that made his opponent lose his earnest money in the last elections lost his own earnest money in this election. During the elections, the Indian media explained the political situation in India. They hid nothing. I faced it all bravely and asked myself what would we say about our past elections if we ever have one in the future? What will we talk about? We have no past elections.

When the elections were over the time for merry-making came. The newly elected prime minister said that the public had voted for the Indian Congress, which was founded a century ago this year. This, he said, was not the last day of the last century, but the first day of the next century. Then I saw the Indians dance in the streets, gardens and marketplaces. Young men were happy at their success. Flags were being distributed, and there was a scene of universal greetings. I had to watch all this with a heavy heart. I was asking myself one question: when will my countrymen dance with glee from Taurkham to Karachi? When will the people of Punjab, the Frotier, Sind and Baluchistan dance together, their innocent hearts rid of the misunderstandings caused by not voting together for such a long time. When will the followers of one religion bow before God and voice the same prayer? Is all that I am saying a mere hallucination or can it be translated into reality? We are going to have elections, too, and I too should have an opportunity for dancing. How long will we see only others dance? How long will the green-eyed monster of jealousy gnaw at our hearts? It should end now. We should either join the nations that are strong and self-sufficient or prepare ourselves for extinction, for that is the verdict of history.

12476

CSO: 4656/66

PAKISTAN

INEFFECTIVE STEPS TO CONTROL BRIBERY CRITICIZED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 28 Dec 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Bribery and Our Society]

[Text] Ever since the results of the referendum have been made public, we have been hearing that now the curse of bribery will be controlled. But what difference can the referendum make? Was the Islamic penal ordinance not in effect before that? When that ordinance was enacted, people expected the crimes to come down in number because of the severity of the punishment. First of all, the police misunderstood the ordinance and misused it. As for the Islamic punishment, only lashing was adopted. No thief had his hand chopped off and no adulterer was stoned. Even when these crimes had been proved, the punishment given in the ordinance was not imposed, and the public has not been given any explanation for this. According to many Muslim ecclesiastics, the purpose of lashing is only to humiliate the culprit, whereas the current method of lashing may even kill a person. The way some Islamic punishment is and is not imposed makes the whole thing extremely suspicious. Above all, Islamic punishment should not be given improperly, because that would establish an erroneous tradition for the future. Hazrat Omar did not say his prayers in a church because he did not want it to become a custom for posterity. The curse of bribery came when Pakistan was created, and it has eaten into every institution like a blight. Different regimes have tried to uproot it, some with strong and others with weaker measures, but all have failed, and now this curse has spread farther than ever.

The present regime also admits that the problem exists. But how is it to be solved? If Islam does not specify a punishment for bribery, can we not find one by innovation? Islamic ecclesiastics should get together and by consensus decide on a punishment for bribery. It would be a good idea to punish both those who give and those who receive bribes. Punishment should be compulsory, and no nepotism should be allowed. History tells us that societies blighted by favoritism were destroyed. Peoples' doubts about Islamic punishment are not unfounded. Such doubts have been raised partly by the wrong spirit of lashing the culprits and partly because the punishment of an amputated hand and stoning has not been imposed on thieves and adulterers. People are also dissatisfied because the regime did not fulfill its promise of outlawing interest completely. Some steps have been taken it is true, but the nation

is waiting for the time when interest will be abolished even on the foreign loans. Pakistan will not have to pay any interest at all. Of course, this great aim can be achieved only after numerous hurdles are overcome, and it will take time. Some difficulties will arise when Islamic punishment is enacted. But when done with sincerity, even the most difficult tasks become easy.

12476

CSO: 4656/66

PAKISTAN

STUDENTS STUDY IN RUSSIA ILLEGALLY, FIND NO JOBS ON RETURN

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Mukhtar Hasan: "State of Affairs--Jobs Cannot Be Obtained in Pakistan With Russian Degrees"]

[Text] There are at present 5,500 Pakistani students in Russia and this number does not include those who are studying legally in Russia on various scholarships. Of the students who have gone to Russia illegally, more than 3,000 are from the North West Frontier Province; the remaining 2,500 come from the other three provinces and a few are Baluch. The number of these students increases each year and at present the number of Pakistani students going voluntarily to Russia exceeds the number of Afghan students under subjugation to Russia who go, or rather are forced to go, to Russia. In the near future, the number of Pakistani students in Russia may double and even treble and pave the way for the grand finale.

Scores of Pakistani students who went to Russia voluntarily 5 or 6 years ago have now returned, but their Russian degrees have not helped them find jobs. Pakistan uses Western technology, it is different from the Russian, which is regarded as less advanced by international standards. The question that arises is this: By installing the steel mill in Karachi, Pakistan has opened the door to Russian technology, and in this connection, a large number of Pakistanis has gone to Russia; in the future as well there should be no obstacles to their going to that country. Why, then, is the Russian Government encouraging Pakistani students to go to Russia illegally by way of Afghanistan?

Russia is not a member of the free world; it is a communist country hidden behind an iron curtain. On the recommendation of individuals in contact with Russia, Pakistani students reach Kabul in the first stage of their journey. The Karmal government arranges for their temporary stay and the Russian embassy in Kabul sends them to Russia. Traveling through war-torn Afghanistan to Kabul is the first stage[?]; but it is not possible for the students to reach Russia without the permission of the Russian Government and the existence of a regular program. The Russian Government cannot say that the students reach Russia on their own or that the Russian Government has no part in the matter.

The important point to be noted about these students who have gone to Russia is that most of them belong to influential families of the upper middle and



higher classes. In nontribal areas of the North West Frontier Province, the Punjab and the frontier provinces, only youths of families who can support them in this wrong behavior can dare to undertake this adventure. These families have contacts outside and inside the government who can arrange for the mistakes committed by their youths to be overlooked. Youths of upper class families who graduate in the third division and who lack the qualifications to pursue higher studies in technology in their own country usually succumb to the temptation to obtain higher education in Russia. Students from tribal areas enjoy greater privileges compared with students from other parts of Pakistan and are able to enter institutions of higher education even with a third division pass. But not all the students from tribal areas succeed in doing so.

Only a few of the students who go to Russia do so for ideological reasons. The practical education and training in communism given to these few ideologically inclined and the non-ideological students is a matter to be considered. However, communism is on the decline. It is propped up only by its military strength and is no longer capable of an ideological attack. It can only launch military attacks; and it can use our students in Russia as an "advance guard" for such an attack. It cannot use them for any ideological propaganda.

When these students who have gone to Russia illegally return to Pakistan, they will not find any jobs. Since they left the country without passports, they will not be able to present any legal proof [?] for their Russian degrees. Their educational credentials will be regarded with suspicion for example, they might be suspected of having obtained their degrees by fraud in Pakistan. Second, even if these degrees have been obtained by going to Russia illegally, there is still no reason to believe that the students possessing the certificates have actually acquired educational and technical knowledge. They could have been given these degrees under the same political program of the Russian Government that allowed them to stay illegally in Russia without passports. These students will thus find it very difficult to obtain jobs in Pakistan or any other country of the free world with their degrees.

It is at this juncture that these students who have studied illegally in Russia will provide fuel for conspiracy and subversion and will perforce become Russia's "advance guards." Students studying illegally in Russia have not as yet returned in any great numbers; but those who have returned are unable to find jobs and are beginning to experience the frustration the depth of which they had not imagined when they left for Russia a few years before or while they lived there. Added to all this is the fact that some of these students have returned with Russian and East European wives. Russian planners are allowing Pakistani students some latitude in marrying Russian girls. This is a different matter, but the interesting point is that while students with Russian degrees can find no work, their wives are able to find jobs of one kind or another. All these things add to the frustration of the students who have studied in Russia.

Now that the students are beginning to return from Russia and are unable to find jobs in universities and educational institutions, one can hear the soft murmurings of the pro-Soviet lobby saying that these youths who have obtained degrees illegally in Russia should not be discriminated against. So far, those who have obtained degrees in higher education from Russia have not started coming back in large numbers; but if students continue to go to Russia, it is possible that in the next 2 or 3 years the thousands who have gone there will return and pressure from influential families to find jobs for their unemployed youths will increase. The uncles, fathers and older brothers of these youths with degrees illegally obtained in Russia will have to find a means of livelihood for them; and thus these young men with Russian degrees will establish the first beachhead of the "advance guard" in Pakistan's educational, industrial and administrative institutions.

How useful will these Russian-educated youths prove for the country? After Afghanistan's recent experience, no other country needs any further object lessons. The earlier African experience should have provided a sufficient lesson. Boatloads of African students were taken to Moscow, given degrees and dumped back home. Of course, Pakistani students educated in Russia can be placed in responsible administrative and other posts in Afghanistan, since the continuing participation of educated Afghan youth in the resistance movement has created a severe shortage of manpower. Pushtu-speaking Pakistani students can be easily appointed to jobs in Afghanistan's Pushtun areas, while other Pakistani students who have a knowledge of the Russian language can be used to fill office jobs not involved with public relations. All this is not mere conjecture but based on evidence.

Barat Khan Achkazai was an important political personality in Chaman, the frontier district of Baluchistan's Pashtun area, and its surrounding territory. The Achkazai tribe lives on both sides of the long border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The pro-Soviet coup d'etat in Afghanistan and the Russian armed aggression brought about a radical psychological change in Barat Achkazai. He was related by blood and tribal ties to the Mohammad Zai Durani Afghan kings and was thus among the former Afghan king's circle of friends. Hence, he may have been guilty of a few mistakes; but his sword was always drawn for the Jihad of the Afghans and he was a staunch supporter of the Afghan struggle. Last year he was martyred in the Kuzhak valley while traveling in his car from Chaman to Quetta. A short time before Achkazai's death, this writer had a long meeting with him in the office of the Chaman municipal committee. He said that during Taraki's term of office, when the Afghan people's resistance was still in its infancy, it was becoming increasingly difficult for the pawns brought by Russia to handle the administration in Afghanistan. Hafizullah Amin sent a message to an important leader in the Pashtun area of Baluchistan asking him to send some 2,000 or 2,500 Pakistani youths to Afghanistan who would then be appointed as officials in administrative and other posts. Barat Achkazai said that this leader, who was always shouting the slogan of "Pashtun," could not persuade even 10 or 20 young men to go to Afghanistan. Hafizullah Amin, who assumed the post of premier in March 1979, was still waiting for socialist- and nationalist-minded youths from among

Pakistani Pashtuns when he became president in September of that year. He sent the same request to tribal groups connected with the Afghan Government as well as to nationalist leaders of the Pashtuns of Pakistan, but he got nothing from Pakistan's Pashtuns.

One of the mistaken policies of the federal Ministry of Education is the plan to limit opportunities for higher education as a result of which admissions to medical colleges have been reduced. Institutions of technical education are threatened with similar reductions. Under the present conditions, immediate measures of an emergency nature should be undertaken. Higher education and technical training should be made available to everyone. The expenses incurred will be much less than the money we will have to spend to ensure the safety and integrity of the country if our young men should go over to the enemy. It would be to our advantage if a few young men without suitable qualifications but with the desire for higher education should choose to waste a few years for their own satisfaction, then leave to join other educational endeavors, rather than go over permanently to the enemy, voluntarily go to Russia without legal permission and return as volunteers for Russia. Our suggested step should be the first positive one to be undertaken. Administrative measures will have to be taken as well, the most important of which will be to launch a publicity campaign throughout the country informing the people that the education diplomas of individuals who leave without passports and official permission to study in foreign countries will not be accepted in Pakistan. Pakistani students should be recalled from Russia and arrangements made for their education in Pakistan. All this will be possible only when positive steps are taken not only administratively but in the field of education as well.

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